FBIS DAILY REPORT

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CSSR DELEGATION HEAD VIEWS MADRID MEETING

AU031425 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 31 Jul 81 pp 1, 7

[Interview given by Radoslav Klein, head of the Czechoslovak delegation at the Madrid CSCE meeting, to unspecified RUDE PRAVO correspondents: "To Reinforce Security and Cooperation; Ambassador R. Klein on the Madrid Meeting;" place and date of interview not given]

[Text] Prague, 30 July--The participants in the Madrid meeting of states that took part in the Conference on European Security and Cooperation departed on 28 July for a summer recess that will last until 27 October. We have asked Ambassador Radoslav Klein, head of the Czechoslovak delegation at the Madrid meeting, to assess its course heretofore, the results achieved so far and the prospects of the meeting's final document, which is now in the stage of preparations.

[Question] How do you assess the situation at the Madrid meeting prior to the summer recess?

[Answer] The situation at the Madrid meeting is not simple. This is confirmed by the very fact that the deliberations have taken up considerably more time than originally expected. The set goal--that is the completion of a final document that would follow up the Helsinki Final Act and would contain new recommendations aimed at reinforcing security and developing cooperation in Europe--has not been achieved even after 8 months of negotiations, despite every effort by the delegations of the socialist community countries and their constructive and flexible approach. We hoped that we would succeed in fulfilling this task by the end of July. The Madrid meeting even adopted a resolution to that effect on the initiative of neutral and nonaligned countries, which called for intensifying and speeding up the editing work so as to enable a successful completion of the Madrid meeting by the end of July, in the form of a comprehensive and balanced document.

Irrespective of this unanimously adopted resolution, the work of the Madrid meeting has recently slowed down for two reasons: On the one hand, there has been a transition to the discussion of substantially more complex issues, on the other hand some NATO countries and the United States in particular have begun to quite deliberately impede the work, which sometimes assumed the form of outright obstructions. When those countries assumed an absolutely negative attitude to the Soviet proposal concerning the zone to be affected by the confidence-building measures, a proposal that was the result of a significant initiative of the 26th CPSU Congress, and when they, moreover, began to make the solution of this issue contingent on unilateral and unrealistic demands concerning other areas, it became clear that the West was not interested in completing the meeting in the course of this summer. As a result, there is now a relatively long break in the deliberations, which will last until 27 October. Since the socialist countries were forced to accept the break, they at least expressed the unequivocal demand that all participants make use of the break in deliberations to reconsider their positions and think through the possibilities of solving the still pending issues on a mutually acceptable basis, so as to enable a successful conclusion of the Madrid meeting in the fall.

When looking back on what has already been accomplished and considering what remains to be done, we can really say that the sphere of the things that divided the delegations at the meeting's beginning has been substantially narrowed down and the sphere of agreement has been expanded.

That is a positive factor speaking in favor of achieving results which the European nations expect of the Madrid meeting.

However, at the same time it must not be forgotten that this positive trend in the meeting's development evidently goes against the grain of the leading circles of NATO, and the United States in particular. It was precisely the United States which at the last plenary session of the Madrid meeting prior to the recess made the attempt to return to confrontation, by demagogically slandering and grossly attacking the socialist countries. While doing so it also belittled the results achieved to date and put forward demands in the nature of ultimatums that are unacceptable for a number of countries, as the U.S. delegation knows very well. Those explicitly destructive statements again emphatically confirmed that the European nations' vital interests, and especially their endeavor to convene a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe, are alien to the United States, which proceeds in its approach to the Madrid meeting solely from its own selfish imperialist goals and interests, which it is trying to assert with particular lack of scruple. This indicates, among other things, that should the United States continue to proceed in this spirit, the fall session of the Madrid meeting will be very complicated and will require immense will, endeavor and political prudence if it is to be led to a successful end.

[Question] What are the concrete results of the deliberations heretofore?

[Answer] The list of all the issues on which preliminary agreement has been achieved would be very extensive. It now comprises a comprehensive text of 36 pages, which represents, according to rough estimates, some 80 percent of the text of the final document under preparation. It pertains to all sections of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference. For example, the section of the final document that deals with problems of the economy, science, technology and environment has been virtually completed. As far as the other sections of the document are concerned, it can be said that the preliminary drafts have been mostly either approved or prepared. That applies, for example, to questions of such importance as the commitment to continue the process of detente, the struggle against terrorism, the further development of cooperation in the area of culture and education as well as a number of issues from the humanitarian and other areas. Of great importance is the fact that considerable progress has been achieved in solving questions connected with reinforcing European security, especially as regards the key issue of the Madrid meeting--the decision to convene a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe.

The results that have been achieved at the Madrid meeting undoubtedly represent significant political assets that must be sustained and further strengthened to prevent them from going to waste. This danger has not yet been eliminated, owing to the approach of the reactionary circles of NATO and the United States. However, it is becoming increasingly obvious that by sweeping off the table those hard-won results, the West would assume before the European and world public the enormous political responsibility for thwarting the Madrid meeting.

[Question] What have been the results of the deliberations as regards the question of convening a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe, especially the solution of the problem of expanding the zone to be affected by the application of confidence-building measures.

[Answer] As I have already noted, considerable progress has been achieved in this area. It must be realized, first of all, that virtually all delegations present at the Madrid meeting have expressed their agreement with the idea to convene a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe, an idea that was initiated by the Warsaw Pact's Political Consultative Committee. Several proposals for solving the problem, differing in their concepts, have been put forward. Nevertheless--especially because of the constructive and flexible approach of the socialist countries--a preliminary agreement has virtually been achieved on questions concerning the conference's mandates, the exception being the question concerning the zone to which the confidence-building measures ought to apply.

The question of this zone is thus becoming the key issue of the Madrid meeting, not only from the viewpoint of convening the conference but also from the viewpoint of the meeting's final success. Because of the significance such a conference would have for promoting detente and solving urgent problems of European security, the socialist community countries believe that the Madrid meeting would not achieve its goal if it did not pass a decision on convening it.

The solution of the problem concerning the zone received a new impetus on 20 July. The USSR submitted a proposal for a solution that respects the principle of all participating states' equal security and that proceeds from the principles of reciprocity, balance and the equality of all participating states' rights and commitments. The USSR expressed its readiness to expand the zone of confidence-building measures to include the entire European part of the USSR, provided--naturally--that also on the Western side this zone will be expanded to encompass the sea or ocean areas adjacent to Europe as well as airspace of corresponding width. As regards the non-European participating states (the United States and Canada), the proposal envisages their involvement in some measures, depending on those measures' nature. The proposal is thus highly evenhanded and balanced, giving advantages to neither side.

Nevertheless, the proposal has, deplorably, encountered a categorical rejection on the part of the United States and other NATO countries, which on the one hand pretend not to understand this absolutely clear proposal and deliberately distort its contents. On the other hand they came up with a proposal of their own, a proposal that envisages merely a unilateral expansion of the zone, to the detriment of the USSR. This proposal not only does not expand the zone on the Western side but even narrows it down, when compared with the formulation contained in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, to the continental part of Europe, leaving virtually aside such European island states as, for example, Great Britain, Iceland, Cyprus, Malta and Ireland. Therefore, this proposal revises, in fact, the corresponding sections of the Final Act, violates the principle of reciprocity and balance and is inconsistent with the principle of the equality of all participating states' rights and obligations. In other words, it is a grave step backwards. That is why this proposal cannot serve as a basis for seeking mutually acceptable solutions concerning the zone. It is appropriate to note that this view is not held by the socialist states alone.

At the same time we are witness to the NATO states' illicit use of their mass information media, in which they present this explicitly unilateral proposal, which is an integral part of their endeavor to gain unilateral advantages at the expense of the socialist countries' security, as some sort of a "grand initiative" allegedly designed to contribute to achieving an agreement about the zone.

The contrast in the approaches to solving this issue, and thus also to the problem of convening the conference, is also borne out by the fact that the NATO countries are ostentatiously proclaiming their positions as unchangeable whereas the socialist countries have expressed their readiness to seek on the basis of their proposal solutions that would be acceptable to all participants, which would pave the way for a successful conlclusion of the Madrid meeting. Owing to this constructive approach, the delegations of the socialist countries have departed for the recess with an open visor, so to speak, and with political initiative, relying on the realistic nature of their positions, which encounter growing understanding among a steadily increasing number of the meeting's participants. Also in the forthcoming stage the socialist community countries are determined to do everything to assure that the Madrid meeting ends with positive results that would significantly contribute to consolicating the policy of detente and to the process of reinforcing security and cooperation in Europe, a process that was initiated by the Helsinki Conference.

ROMANIA, GDR ENVOYS ADDRESS GENEVA COMMITTEE

Romanian Envoy on 29 Jul

AU291952 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1820 GMT 29 Jul 81

[Text] Geneva, 29 Jul (AGERPRES)--Taking the floor during the debates of the Geneva Disarmament Committee, Romanian Ambassador Mircea Malita pointed to the importance on principle Romania attaches to banning the use of the gains of modern science and technology for military purposes. Referring to the particularly serious implications on international security of the military applications of the latest achievements of modern technology, he stressed the need that the Geneva Committee should focus, besides the elaboration as soon as possible of measures for outlawing the existing mass destruction weapons, on preventive measures such as those regarding the banning of new weapons or systems of such weapons. In this light the committee should examine three possible domains of action: the elaboration of juridical international norms obliging all states, those alloting largest funds to military research in the first place, to adopt measures on a national plane for reducing these activities and reorientating the funds towards socioeconomic development; the elaboration of a global international agreement on banning the production of further mass destruction weapons and systems of suchlike weapons; the conclusion of specific conventions which should ban concrete types of new mass destruction weapons.

In the outlook of the Romanian delegation, an analysis of these alternatives calls for the creation of an adequate mechanism of examination through the agency of which the committee may fulfil the mandate entrusted to it by the first UN Special Session on Disarmament. The role and final aim of the meetings of the committee are precisely the covenanting, by overall agreement, of suchlike stuctures. As far as they are concerned--the speaker said--the Romanian delegations supports the initiative advanced by the USSR regarding the setting up of an ad hoc group of governmental experts, under the aegis of the committee, who should gather periodically and inform of the results of their activity. Suchlike solution would allow the committee, while observing its priorities, to keep focusing on the highly topical question regarding the banning of the use of technical progress for the purpose of developing ever more destructive weapons. The cessation of research in new weapons is an indispensable component of this aggregate of measures if we wish to halt further and more dangerous developments of a state of affairs that is already full of threats and risks.

Romanian Envoy on 31 Jul

AU311856 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1820 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Text] Geneva, 31 Jul (AGERPRES)--Taking the floor during the debates of the Geneva Disarmament Committee, the Romanian chief delegate Mircea Malita pointed out that the aim of the current negotiations should be the elaboration of formulae stipulating that the nuclear-weapon states pledge to never and under no circumstance resort to the use or threat of nuclear weapons, of force in general against non-nuclear states.

In condition when such an obligation is not accepted by all the nuclear-weapon states the Romanian delegation are ready to examine the possibility of intermediary arrangements in the form of a resolution of the UN General Assembly or of the Security Council. In this case the arrangements should reassert the long-term goal of elaborating a compulsory juridical accord in this respect and be conceived as a tangible step towards measures conducive to outlawing nuclear weapons and liquidating the existing stockpiles, eliminating thus the nuclear danger from the life of society.

In light of the 1982 special session of the UN General Assembly, the importance of adopting measures, even intermediary, is determined by the fact that the non-nuclear states are in a risky and uncertain situation. They keep being possible targets in strategic planning and potential victims of weapons they do not possess. Their territory can become at any moment an area of nuclear conflict especially in Europe where nuclear arming is being escalated. Under these circumstances the ever more firmer demand of public opinion in numerous countries that declare more resolutely in favour of banning nuclear weapons is legitimate. The Geneva Committee cannot ignore the appeals it is addressed and must act most energetically to fulfill the mandate it has been entrusted with.

GDR Envoy on 4 Aug

LD042158 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1422 GMT 4 Aug 81

[Text] Geneva, 4 Aug (ADN Correspondent)--An important task of the Disarmament Committee has to be increasing the security of states to exclude for all time the possibility of a nuclear mass murder. This was stated on Tuesday by Ambassador Dr Gerhard Herder, GDR delegation head at the Geneva Disarmament Committee, at the plenary session of the body composed of 40 states. The majority of the committee's member-states had urgently demanded the start of negotiations to end the nuclear arms race and to achieve nuclear disarmament, underlined Ambassador Dr Herder. He stressed that the GDR welcomes the fact that in the working group on security guarantees for states not in possession of nuclear weapons there is increasing support fot the idea of drawing up an international convention as effective international legal protection against the use and threat of use of nuclear weapons.

The GDR advocated that the security guarantees be extended to all states which abandon the production and acquisition of nuclear weapons and oppose stationing any nuclear weapons on their territories.

"We proceed from the fact that the stationing of nuclear weapons on the territories of nonnuclear states would escalate the nuclear arms race and increase the danger of a nuclear attack launched from the territories of the countries in which nuclear weapons are based," he said.

None could deny the adverse influence on the international situation, particularly on disarmament negotiations, which the stationing of nuclear weapons in additional countries would have. The plans to station new nuclear medium-range missiles in some countries of Western Europe are well known. A broad popular movement has sprung up against these plans. The GDR advocated the conclusion of an agreement on not stationing nuclear weapons on the territories of states in which no such weapons are present. Such a treaty could reduce the danger of a nuclear conflict. It would exert a favorable influence on efforts to create nuclear weapon-free zones in various parts of the world and provide a good basis for an agreement to strengthen security guarantees for nonnuclear states.

ZERI I POPULLIT VIEWS 'SPLITS' IN EUROCOMMUNISM

AU311046 Tirana ATA in English 0915 GMT 31 Jul 81

["Splits and Quarrels in the Ranks of 'Eurocommunists'"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 31 Jul (ATA)--The newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT carries an article which reveals the crisis that has gripped the revisionist parties as a component part of the political superstructure of the capitalist society. Particularly the three major revisionist parties of the West, the Spanish, French and Italian revisionist parties, the newspaper stresses, are corroded by the disagreements and quarrels among their factions.

At the congress of the Spanish revisionist party for the region of Catalonia held recently it was opposed the leadership of Carrillo. The chieftains of this faction demanded the "complete revising of the policy of the Communist Party of Spain at this period, the departure from Eurocommunist orientation". On their part, the Spanish "communist intellectuals" required the further democratization of the party.

In the French revisionist party, many of those praised by Marchais, the intellectuals, have created different groups which oppose his policy certainly from unprincipled positions. Some time ago, many writers, painters, professors, historians, philosophers, journalists, etc, members of this party, posing as "pure Eurocommunists" claimed that they are against the departure from "Eurocommunism" being noticed in Marchais. Therefore, they are also leaving the French "Communist" Party.

The same picture is also seen in the Italian revisionist party. Various groups inside it, seeing that the "historic compromise" did not guarantee to them posts in the government, compelled Berlinguer to come out with a broader formulation of class collaboration, with the "democratic alternative". Speaking of the disagreements and quarrels that are corroding his party Berlinguer himself stressed recently that "there exists the possibility for disagreements on a broader scale, down to such disagreements that are openly noticed in votings".

The emergence of factions in the ranks of the "Eurocommunist" revisionist parties has aroused not only splits among them, but also among the three greater "Eurocommunist" parties of the West. Marchais, despite his diversified "socialism", has proved himself to be Moscow's tool with his foreign policy. Likewise, it must not be forgotten that Carrillo was a "hearty friend" during Carter's visit to Spain last year. The rivalries between the patrons, Washington and Moscow, reflect among others the destruction of "harmony" among the "Eurocommunists".

The spirit of division and faction that prevails in the Eurocommunist parties, ZERI I POPULLIT continues further on, is a logical consequence of all their ideological and political line. The ideological and political degeneration would certainly lead also to the organizational degeneration, their transformation into parties of the type of the Second International, the doors of which were open to all. The statutes of these parties say that anyone may be admitted to these parties, despite the philosophical views and religious faith, that is, bourgeois, monarchists, anarchists, priests, etc, with no distinction at all, only that they accept the program of these parties and vote for them.

The profound crisis that has gripped also the countries of Western Europe has aroused not only splits and factions in these parties, but at the same time has exposed their policy of subjugation and capitulation to the bourgeoisie in the eyes of the masses. This has made the rank and file members abandon them en masse. The number of the members of the Spanish revisionist party has reduced by 45 percent from 1977 to 1980. While the Italian revisionist Napolitano admitted recently that they in the leadership of the Italian revisionist party are "very worried in regard to the admission of the new members, to cope with the difficulties of the last three years".

Facts once again prove that "modern revisionism, just like the old one, Bernstein or Kautski, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed, can never create that cohesion, that steel-like unity that only Marxism-Leninism, the scientific ideology of the working class can do. Revisionism, ZERI I POPULLIT concludes, is one with division, with the lack of unity, with chauvinism, with anarchy".

INVESTMENTS INCREASE DURING LAST 5-YEAR PLAN

AU032034 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 3 Aug 81

[Summary] Construction day will be celebrated tomorrow. The party has devoted special attention to this sector, which is vital for the development of agriculture, industry, culture and other economic sectors. Investments have been continually increasing. The investments volume for cultural and economic development was (?3.1 times) greater in the Sixth 5-Year Plan than in the First 5-Year Plan and 18 percent greater than in the Fifth 5-Year Plan. Important projects were commissioned during the last 5-year plan, among them mineral processing factories, the oil processing factory in Ballesh, the Fierze hydropower plant, mechanical workshops in Tirana and others.

During the first 6-month period of this year, nearly 35 new projects were completed. These include the Lac-Lezhe railroad, the "Hysni Kapo" cultural palace in Vlore, various cinemas, schools and hospitals. The investment volume is expected to increase by 23-25 percent in this 5-year plan, and the investments for construction assembly work will be 13 percent greater than in the Sixth 5-Year Plan. About 75 percent of the general investment volume will be used for industrial and agricultural development. Work on various new projects is underway, such as the Tirana National Historical Museum, the extension of various factories, water mains and others. Many new apartments are also being commissioned in various villages.

BRIEFS

OIL REFINERY ACHIEVEMENTS--Since the beginning of this year the collective of the Ballsh oil refinery have exceeded production targets 5 percent, reduced costs by 1,049,000 leks over and above the stipulated task, exceeded the enterprise's net income plan by 4.5 million leks and also met other economic and financial indicators. [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1000 GMT 1 Aug 81 AU]

MILITARY DIPLOMAS PRESENTATION--Diplomas were presented to graduates at th "Mehmet Shehu" military academy on 27 July. Taking part were teachers, students and oth s who had been invited. Also present were Kadri Hasbiu, Politburo member and people's d nse minister; Gaqo Nesho, first secretary of the Tirana District AWP Committee; Petrit Ba a, AWP Central Commitee member; directing cadres of the People's Defense Ministry, Ministry of Education and Culture and other comrades. On behalf of the AWP Central Committee, the Council of Ministers and Council of Defense, Veli Llakaj, deputy minister of people's defense and chief of the Army General Staff, greeted the meeting. [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 27 Jul 81 AU]

PRESS, READERS' COMMENTS ON POLAND SUMMARIZED

AU041945 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 1 August carries on page 6 a 600-word "(AR)"-signed review of letters to the editor, entitled "The Readers on Poland." The letters "reflect on the criticial situation in neighboring Poland," the paper says, and are filled with the "wisdom of life and political experience", they are "short but also have many pages" and are "signed by individuals, as well as groups," and they testify that "relations between our peoples, countries and nations have deep roots and are truly fraternal." A "reader from Hradec Kralove" is quoted as being "heartbroken at the attempts of the Polish emigres and other reactionary forces abroad to slander all that has been achieved in new Poland, to belittle and disrupt it."

"Marie Spackova from Prague ponders over the experience the international workers movement has had with anarcho-syndicalism. Pavol Pinkar from Bratislava points out how "international reaction speculates with the question of religion in Poland." Other readers deal with the Polish economy and the suffering of the "fraternal Slav peoples." "Josef Polacek from Rynoltice points out the attempts of certain 'Solidarity' bosses to pursue activities other than trade union affairs." Rudolf Tomis of Prague-4 reportedly sees one of the causes of the Polish crisis in the "success of reactionary forces in Poland in reviving, with the substantial assistance of Western propaganda, both anti-Sovietism and anticommunism." Jaroslav Machacek of Plzen reportedly compares Polish developments with those in the CSSR in 1968, adding: "The authors of the script often use identical methods." Another unspecified reader also reportedly says that "in Poland events similar to those in our country in 1968 are being repeated. The team of enemies is now striving in Poland, as it did in our country, to disrupt and liquidate socialism."

Stefan Gastan of Prague-Sporilov is quoted on the wish of "certain reactionary forces in 'Solidarity' to 'shape it, under the guise of the trade unions' independence, into an instrument for fighting the communist party and the socialist state.'" Karel Sommer of Ostrava is quoted on his "concern about the developments in the country of our Polish friends" and the "antigovernmental acts of the antisocialist forces." An unnamed "reader from Opava" urges the Poles "not to forget the past, not to forget who it was that liberated Poland from Nazi hell." And finally the "women members of the Czechsolovak Women's Union of Vrbno Pod Pradedem" are quoted on the "support of the people of all socialist countries which the Polish working people have in their efforts to defend socialism in their country."

On 3 August RUDE PRAVO carries on page 6 a 500-word CTK Warsaw dispatch, entitled "The Crisis is Rushing to a Dramatic Finish." It deals with the Jaruzelski-chaired session of the Presidium of the Polish Council of Ministers on 1 August; with the Government Presidum's report on the "extremely dangerous nature of disturbing demonstrations"; with the planned "measures for stopping arbitrary actions which disrupt production and market deliveries, undermine state activity and lead to chaos and anarchy"; with the appeal for more discipline and order; with the rejection of "pressure on the leadership"; with measures to ensure a good harvest; and measures against speculation, Jaruzelski is quoted on the failure of efforts to stabilize the situation and halt the crisis; on the dropping procurement figures; on the "unprecedented protest actions which are fraught with unimaginable consequences for Poland"; and on his appeal for the cooperation of the entire society.

On the same day, RUDE PRAVO carries on page 6 another 350-word CTK Warsaw dispatch on the 1 August session of the PZPR Central Committee Politbom, entitled "We Will Have What We Produce." The dispatch says that insufficient market deliveries caused by low procurement and the cuts in meat rations have "led to a tension which shows dangerous features and threatens to explode with an all-social conflict. The session stressed that the announced strikes and especially street demonstrations are a great danger for Poland." The dispatch notes that "this atmosphere is used by certain (Solidarity) links" to undermine the political line of the recent congress; and that the Politburo assures that hunger is not a threat for Poland.

The dispatch then deals with "misunderstandings about the proposed price changes," with the lack of reserves in the economy; with the approval of government plans for stabilizing the socioeconomic situation; with pressures for wage increases leading to a "further disorganization of the natinal economy;" with the need to "prevent the demoralizing phenomena of a social lack of discipline and speculation;" and with the Politubro decison to convene a Central Committee session on the current socioeconomic situation in the country.

On the same day and page, RUDE PRAVO carries a 1,800-word Warsaw dispatch by Jan Lipavsky, entitled "On Saturday, 1 August, on the Rozewicze Market: Who Is Exploiting the Crisis." After noting the various strikes planned by "Solidarity," Lipavsky recalls Z. Madej's appeal to the nation to come to its senses, adding: 'But not everybody in Poland is acting accordingly." He notes the lines in front of gasoline stations causing gasoline shortages; the people trekking to rural areas to buy food since the city shops have none to sell; and in contrast to this, the abundance of all commodities on the Rozewicze Free Market. Lipavsky reports on his talks there with the buyers: They consider it "improbably" that Poland could revert to the precrisis situation in 2-4 years. As Z. Madej had assured, "their trust is shaken," Lipavsky states. He then deals with the deteriorating situation in Polish industry, agricultural procurement, coal extraction and housing; with Poland's deteriorating balance of payments in foreign trade with the West; and adds: "Doubts about the future are revolving in many heads." After quoting the exorbitant prices at the market and the speculators' purchases, which Solidarity "tolerates," as well as the refusal of the All-National Coordination Commission to discuss things with the Council of Minister's Trade Union Committee, Lipavsky concludes: "What will the next hours and days bring?"

TELEVISION REPORTS ON DEEPENING CRISIS IN POLAND

LD041254 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1943 GMT 3 Aug 81

[Interview with Richard Pokorny, Prague Television news correspondnet assigned to Warsaw, by unidentified correspondent in Prague--live]

[Text] [Question] It was announced in Warsaw this evening that a session of the PZPR Central Committee will be held this Saturday to discuss the worsening socioeconomic situation in the country. The party Politburo, the government and also the Military Council of the National Defense Ministry have dealt with the same problem in recent days.

Another provocation took place in Warsaw today. Scores of trucks, buses and taxis set off for the streets in the city center on the initiative of Solidarity leaders. They were joined by drivers of a few ambulances, which is a gross violation of Polish law. The aim of this provocation was to achieve the cancellation of the reduction of meat rations. Vehicles were approaching the building of the party Central Committee where public security officials formed a cordon and refused access to the vehicles. Drivers of trams and taxis joined the strike and Solidarity declared a strike alert throughout the Warsaw Voivodship. The provocative action was obviously also to influence the talks between Solidarity and the government today which were interrupted this afternoon and adjourned until Thursday without any result being achieved. This is all from agency reports from Poland.

What are the causes of the present exacerbation of the situation in Poland? This is my first question for our guest, Richard Pokorny, television news correspondent in Warsaw, who is at present on a short working visit in Prague.

[Answer] I do not want to repeat all that is known; that the situation of supplies is serious. This term, I believe, does not accurately describe the situation in some places where the situation of supplies is disastrous.

On the other hand, I remember well the words of Jan Kulaj, a leader of Rural Solidarity, who at a press conference soon after this organizatic.. was registered, said that the Polish farmer--the private farmer, he stressed--is able to secure nourishment for all people.

As far as the relationship of Rural Solidarity [words indistinct] toward cooperatives and state farms is concerned, it can be described as utterly hostile. And finally, (?there are) the results: For example, in some places Rural Solidarity posters have appeared, appealing to peasants to boycott state trade and procurement, and the results are clear and tangible. It is known, for example, that the drop in the procurement of animals for slaughter in the first quarter of the year was really disastrous, and thus today there exist great difficulties in meeting at least the norm set on ration coupons. And there are other consequences: speculcation and speculators, entrances to houses some foodstuffs which cannot be obtained anywhere else. For example, an egg costs Z8-10, which is approximately Kcs 3-4, and only a few people can afford this.

The government session held yesterday discussed radical action against speculators and all who are trying to profit from the present situation by setting their prices higher than those set by the state. It is difficult to say to what extent this action will be successful, because a number of peasants rely on the fact that these prices can still be paid by some people in Poland, for example, various private enterpreneurs, other speculators and so forth. What Comrade Albin Siwak, who is known to our viewers from his television interview--you talked to him also at the congress--and who is at present a Politburo member, said is being confirmed. In his speech during the debate at the Ninth PZPR Extraordinary Congress he said that the present state of Polish agriculture is unfortunately assisting in some sort of renaissance for rural rich men and kulaks. We must see in this one of the decisive problems which slows down the successful safeguarding of the nourishment of the people. It is necessary to start from here.

[Question] Poland now faces the solution of innumerable complex problems. Which do you consider to be of most interest at present?

[Answer] There is a debate about the nourishment of the people. and this is confirmed above all with the basic problem of making it possible for people to buy with ration coupons that which is written on them. This means that this norm has to be observed. This norm is considered to be a biological norm which can be taken no further becasue doctors say that further consequences could stem from it: for example, undernourishment or even tuberculosis. This danger really exists.

It is also necessary to be aware of this truism: It is possible to distribute only that which has been produced. Here we have to see another fact: that at present in Poland more is being distributed than has been produced, which is only due to the help of socialist countries, and above all the Soviet Union, because Poland itself is not able to produce as much as it says on the coupons, for example.

In connection with this, any kind of demonstration of similar action against the government's attempt--I do not say to solve but at least to embark on the way toward the solution of the present crisis--is utter sabotage, an attempt to cause chaos, to exacerbate tension and to deepen the crisis which is already serious enough. All this may end not in a constructive solution but in a catastrophe whose consequences are inestimable today. But what is clear and what is known is the identity of those who initiate these actions.

More TV Coverage

LD042108 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1730 GMT 4 Aug 81

[Text] Thanks to the continuing provocations of Walesa's Solidarity, the situation in Poland is getting even more tense. This is borne out by the events of the last few hours, as Rastislav Bayer reports"

The extensive provocative action of Walesa's trade unions is in its second day in Warsaw.

Hundreds of buses, trucks, taxies and city council vehicles are making transportation and supplies in the center of Warsaw practically impossible. Mieczyslaw Rakowski, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, in a television address delivered yesterday, said that the reduction in quantity of rationed meat--used by Solidarity as a pretext for another pressue action--was unavoidable. Owing to insufficient supplies by private farmers, this year's meat production in Poland will be one fifth lower than production in 1980. Mieczyslaw Rakowski condemned the week-long street demonstrations organized by Solidarity in Polish towns. He said that such unwise actions only fueled aggressiveness, which could lead to an uncontrollable explosion and could also become the cause of a conflict in Europe.

The Presidium of the so-called Solidarity of Mazowsze, at a meeting attended by all the Solidarity big shots [pohlavari] including Walesa, has decided to maintain social tension and continue the street demonstration until Wednesday, when a 2-hour warning strike is to be held throughout the region.

In this connection a contribution delivered at the last Sejm session by Zbigniew Kladecki, deputy of the Democratic Party from Kalisz, is being summed up in Poland: He noted that the government of General Jaruzelski is at the moment working in a virtually tragic situation and that it is working against time. We now expect from the government concrete and decisive steps. We must put an end to marking time. In the government we have several generals, he said. I do not propose that military discipline should be introduced--but the tired Polish society would no doubt agree with certain features of the military style. Only speedy, comprehensive and operative steps can avert a national tragedy, the Democratic Party deputy Kladecki stated in conclusion.

U.S. SEEKS TO LIQUIDATE SOCIALISM IN POLAND

LD041900 Prague in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1630 GMT 4 Aug 81

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] As you may have heard, yesterday's negotiations between Solidarity and the Polish Government were broken off. Solidarity demands that the government cancel its decision to cut meat rations in August by a fifth. However, it is a known fact that in the present crisis situation Poland simply does not have the funds for purchasing meat abroad. This important fact says a lot about the real character of Solidarity's present campaigns. Extremists in the Solidarity leadership continue to manipulate their members, starting a new round of destructive strikes, which are worsening the situation in the country and are meant to exert pressure during the present negotiations in Warsaw. The aims are clearly political and designed to disrupt the Polish economy and people's power in Poland.

The genuine interests of the workers and of Polish society in general are set aside. Even a number of Western newspapers, so as not to lose credibility among their readers, have already had to admit the evident fact that only earnest work is a way out of the present economic crisis and the food shortages in Poland. In contrast with this is the attitude of the highest quarters in Washington, who are (?eagerly) greeting reports about a further worsening of the situation in Poland. They have gone so far as last Thursday [as heard]: The American House of Representatives passed a resolution in which the American lawmakers almost assumed the right to forbid the Polish Government to introduce law and order in its own country. There can hardly be a more open admission that it is Washington that seconds the extremists within Solidarity and calculates [word indistinct] the liquidation of socialism in Poland.

The kindling of [word indistinct] anarchy in production, and ideological confusion--in short destabilization--is an instrument that Washington is prepared to use in places where developments do not agree with the American strategists' ideas, or where an opportunity offers itself as the case is now in Poland.

When analyzing the U.S. strategy vis-a-vis Poland, the general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, Gus Hall, said that the destruction of socialism is a vital ambition of U.S. imperialism. Poland is considered to be a kind of bridgehead leading to the other socialist countries. The Polish departments of the CIA, the FBI, the State Department, Voice of America, and other institutions are in a state of permanent readiness and are working at full speed. The U.S. Government itself is blackmailing Poland economically, and is grossly interfering into its internal affairs. To illustrate still better Washington's thoughts when it applauds Solidarity-inspired strikes, it suffices to give this concrete example. Traffic in Warsaw has been blocked by hundreds of trucks used unlawfully by Solidarity for demonstrations and (?to put) pressure on the government. All the indications are that Washington considers this to be normal. At the same time airports in (?19 American) cities have been paralyzed by an air traffic controllers strike. [Word indistinct] without scruple, President Reagan gave the striking air traffic controllers an ultimatum, threatening to fire them if he is not obeyed. This needs no further comment.

POLISH ANTISOCIALIST FILM RECEIVES PRIZE AT CANNES

AU041706 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Aug 81 p 5

[(JH)--signed commentary in the column "Small Thoughts": "Who Was the Customer?"]

[Text] In the last few days, Andrzej Wajda's film "Iron Man" was shown for the first time in Poland. Thanks to its antisocialist and counterrevolutionary content, this film has received this year's Golden Palm Award at the International Film Festival in Cannes. As we already wrote, this was decided even prior to the opening of the film show, and thus the Polish authors had to hurry rather considerably. Upon receiving a hint from abroad, the script was ready in 6 days' time; the shooting and cutting was rushed through in round-the-clock work. The driector of this "masterpiece" himself has not confessed that he saw the film in its entirety only during the contest showing on the Cote D'Azur.

In their reports from Cannes a number of Western critics truthfully acknowledged that Wajda's film has nothing in common with art. Some of them also did not conceal the background of the whole matter and the whole circus surrounding it. For instance, fashionable cotton t-shirts were being sold in Cannes with the inscription Wajda-Man. The inscription was similar in design to "Solidarity's" official badge; and Wajda is a member of "Solidarity's" All-State Council.

The film will soon be shown, with appropriate pomp, in the United States. Its path to the movie theaters there was to have been recently paved by Wajda's older work, also antisocialist, "Man of Marble," but so far it has not won any special glory there.

Nevertheless, the reactionary forces in Poland have been applauding this film for months without having viewed it, and they do not even want to understand Walesa's statement--he is playing the part of Walesa himself in certain scenes--that he is disappointed with the film.

The progressive Polish weekly RZECZYWISTOSC justly points out the elitist concept of domestic cinematography and practice pushed through by Wajda himself. What is substantial is the fact that the so-called independent trade unions are deciding what will be filmed and who will film it. The "pecking" order, the weekly writes, has already been fixed. Only a very few film creators will get a "peck," those who know how to make films for the Western public. The fact that the film is to be made for the people will be the least important aspect of this.

PELIKAN WRITES IN ROME AVANTI! ON FATE OF DISSIDENT

PM050811 Rome AVANTI! in Italian 26-27 Jul 81 "Culture" supplement p III

[Jiri Pelikan article: "No End to Czechoslovak Repression"]

[Text] Tomorrow, 27 July, in Prague sees the start of a major political trial of Rudolf Battek, sociologist, former deputy and Charter-77 spokesman, who has been in jail since 14 Jun3 1980. It is the first in a series of trials that the Husak regime is planning for this summer, involving some 20 Czechoslovak citizens arrested in May 1980 and charged with "subversive activity in collaboration wi-th foreign countries." They will be tried on the basis of article 98 of the Czechoslovak Penal Code, which stipulates prison sentences of 3-10 years.

With this latest wave of arrests, persecutions and political trials, the "normalization" regime, frightened by the renewal process in Poland, is trying to deal a decisive blow to the civil rights defense movement, Charter-77 and the Committee for the Defense of Unjustly Persecuted Citizens (VONS) and to discredit the socialist and democratic opposition at home and abroad so as to create an atmosphere of fear and despair among the people, who are looking with new hope toward Warsaw.

Rudolf Battek's case is very typical of the Czechoslovak repressive machinery and it is therefore worth examining its basic facts. Rudolf Battek worked through 1968 at Prague's Academy of Sciences and, like the majority of intellectuals, devoted himself during the Prague spring period to the ideals of socialism with a human face. In June 1968 he was elected a deputy to the National Council (the Czech "Parliament") and in this capacity protested against the Soviet-Military intervention. He was first arrested for his opposition to the "normalization" in 1969 and spent a year in jail. Having left jail, but without a job, he continued his activity in the ranks of the socialist opposition and was again arrested and sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment in the first series of political trials in 1971. Following his release in 1974 he worked as a laborer and together with other companions calling themselves "independent socialists" formed a group with plans for self-management and democratic socialism, which sought membership of the Socialist International.

In 1977 Rudolf Battek was among the first signatories of Charter-77, a very broad and pluralistic movement embracing former communists, socialists, Christians, liberals and Trotskiyites, internationally known intellectuals, but also many workers and young people. With scrupulous observance of the movement's legal nature and its general principles of respect for human rights and the Helsinki Accords, Battek continued with his friends to draw up plans for a self-managed form of socialism and followed with the greatest interest the struggles of the Polish workers and of the Workers Self-Defense Committee [KOR]. During this period Battek wrote a number of letters to the Socialist International expressing his adherence to democratic socialism and international detente, while at the same time stressing that the persecution of socialists and citizens in Czechoslovakia and other Eastern Bloc countries descredits the socialist ideal and harms international cooperation.

The police could find no excuse to arrest him, but tried to stage incidents and provocations to involve him in violent acts. Battek was on several occasions attacked by "unknown persons," seized and taken by car hundreds of kilometers away from Prague and abandoned in remote places. He never defended himself physically, but he defended his ideas in articles and other writings. In 1979 he became one of the Charter-77 spokesmen, still under close police scrutiny.

In June 1980 his car was stolen, despite the fact that his home was permanently watched by the secret police.

Battek went to the police station to report the robbery but after waiting several hours left the waiting room to return home. Only then was he asked by a policeman to return, and when he refused, two policemen took him by force to the barracks. One of them then accused Rudolf Battek of having hit him and thus Battek was arrested and charged with resisting arrest and assaulting a policeman.

He remained in isolation for several months, unable to speak with either his lawyer or his wife. He decided to stage a hunger strike, supported outside the prison by his wife and many friends who also staged hunger strikes.

During his isolation his health deteriorated dramatically. His wife turned to Socialist International Chairman Willy Brandt, and Charter-77 called for his release in its message to the International's Madrid Congress. However, the police refused to release him and added a further charge--subversive activity in collaboration with foreign countries. Battek risked a prison sentence of up to 10 years.

The trial starting tomorrow follows the pattern of previous political trials: No member of the public, journalist or foreign observer will be admitted to the courtroom, despite the fact that it should be a public trial. The court is in a hurry to complete its proceedings, perhaps in 1-2 days. The sentence has already been decided by the party leadership and will be issued by the court--especially since the former chairman of the court, the notorious prosecutor at previous trials, Kaspar, was recently appointed justice minister.

But there is a particular aspect that should attract the attention of and prompt a reaction from all socialist parties: The Prague court maintains that the public correspondence with the Socialist International constitutes proof of "subversive activity in collaboration with foreign countries"; and this is happening not only during the European conference in Madrid but also at the moment when Brezhnev is receiving Socialist International Chairman Willy Brandt and addressing the socialist and social democratic parties belonging to the International, acknowledging their commitment to world peace.

This double-dealing must not pass without a most steadfast stance being adopted by the European socialist parties and all European democratic forces, which must oppose the latest wave of oppression in Czechoslovakia, as they have opposed the dictatorial and reactionary regimes in Chile, Uruguay, Argentina, El Salvador, Turkey, South Africa and throughout the world. Following an initiative by the Italian socialist deputies, the socialist group in the European Parliament has proposed a resolution, approved unanimously in June, demanding Rudolf Battek's release and protesting against the recent arrests of the defenders of human rights in Czechoslovakia. In France over 1,000 personalities have signed a similar resolution together with First Secretary Lionel Jospin. We must not allow the Prague regime to take advantage of the vacation period to stifle amid public silence, the voice of the citizens demanding a different kind of socialism and the right to speak out. By remembering the Soviet intervention and occupation of Czechoslovakia, we can prevent a repetition of the same tragedy in Poland. This is why the socialists must, together with all the other leftwing forces, demand the release of Rudolf Battek and of political prisoners in Czechoslovakia.

DAILY SAYS AUSTRIA 'DISRUPTING MUTUAL RELATIONS'

AU032008 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 1 Aug 81 p 7

[Bedrich Zagar commentary in the column "Word on Events": "Who Is Disrupting Mutual Relations"]

[Text] The Austrian mass information and propaganda media are again zeroed in on Czechoslovakia.

Their anti-Czechoslovak campaign is acquiring such dimensions that one is involuntarily prompted to ask: Who is interested in this? Where it true that no emigre groups, supported by the anticommunist and antisocialist centers in the West, operated in Austria, then this question would be truly veiled in mystery. However, Austria is tolerating the activities of emigre circles with hostile attitude toward Czechoslovakia, regrettably with the cognizance of the official authorities, although this is at variance with the efforts to develop good-neighborly relations between the CSSR and Austria.

Obviously the Austrian bourgeois press adheres to the motto: Offense is the best defense. And according to this motto, it is attacking Czechoslovakia, although the reality would rather justify a completely opposite stand. Because no activities against Austria are carried out on Czechoslovak territory--not even the Hodic case was aimed against Austria--it should rather be regarded as a defense action against the emigre circles' heckling activities in Austria. However, this suited the bourgeois newspapers in Austria for their antisocialist and anti-Czechoslovak propaganda campaign.

The Austrian mass information and propaganda media are acting in the same manner in their policy of "human rights defense," which went bankrupt long ago. The hysteria of "defenders of human rights" has seized even certain deputies of the Austrian Parliament, particularly those coming from the reactionary Austrian People's Party. These people are confusing "the right to fight for human rights" with interference in the internal affairs of other countries. They are forgetting one thing: that a person regarded in Austria as a "fighter for human rights" can also be a subversive element. In fact, the term "fighter for human rights" is used by the bourgeois press as a hypocritical name for the enemies of the socialist system, who are using illegal methods in their activities and harming the all-social interests of a socialist country. And such elements are being taken under the protective wing of the Vienna bourgeois press only because they enable it to attack a socialist country. Apart from that, in Czechoslovakia true human rights are ensured far better than they are in Austria, or in any other capitalist country. That is why the anti-Czechoslovak sallies of the Austrian press cannot be assessed other than as provocations and a disorienting of the Austrian public. After all, the disorderly and rowdyish behaviour of "unknown culprits" with regard to the Czechoslovak representative office in Vienna is merely the consequence of attempts to evoke an atmosphere unfavorable for good-neighborly relations.

Czechoslovakia is interested in developing good relations with Austria. This is proved by our principled peaceful foreign policy and its efforts to develop friendly relations with states with a different social system; and even more so when it is a case of a neighboring country. According to the official statements by Austrian representatives, Austria is interested in the same thing. But the anti-Czechoslovak campaign in the Austrian press contradicts the official statements. We are alarmed by this, because such campaigns unfavorably influence the atmosphere in relations between Czechoslovakia and Austria, and most certainly do not contribute toward their deepening.

BRIEFS

HOFFMANN VISITS WORKERS--Karel Hoffmann, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, today visited agricultural workers of Trebic and Breclav Districts. [Excerpts] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2100 GMT 4 Aug 81 LD]

CORRECTION TO HUSAK RETURN FROM VACATION

The following correction should be made to the item entitled "Husak Returns Home From CPSU Hosted Vacation", published in the 4 August Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT on page D 1: The date shown in the sourceline should be "2 Aug 81", rather than "2 Jul 81", as originally published.

SOLIDARITY PARALYZES TRAFFIC IN CENTER OF WARSAW

LD041734 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1452 GMT 4 Aug 81

[By ADN correspondent Gerhard Kowalski]

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Aug (ADN)--Since Monday Solidarity supporters have been paralyzing traffic in the center of Warsaw. On the pretext of protesting against the deteriorating supply situation Solidarity, in its own words, had 150 trucks, buses and other vehicles block Warsaw's busiest junction, Marszalkowska and Aleje Jerozolimskie. Traffic on these two thoroughfares in the center of the Polish capital stopped instantly. Buses and streetcars have been forming an endless line. Delivery vans cannot reach the shops. Ambulances have to crawl along overcrowded sidewalks. Solidarity people are handing out inciting leaflets.

Solidarity leader Walesa said cynically that this was a "response" to the government and militia because the column of vehicles marshaled by Solidarity had not been allowed to drive to the PZPR Central Committee headquarters and the seat of government. He told journalists on Monday evening: "We want a 100 percent success. The militia must allow us free passage."

The inference drawn from this statement is that Solidarity wants another direct confrontation with the authorities. The street demonstrations, it is said, have "created a new situation."

The question asked in Warsaw is this: How can Solidarity marshal so many vehicles which do not belong to them? Who is paying for it? Where do the thousands of liters of gasoline and diesel oil come from when there is a great shortage of both everywhere? Because of that shortage a number of bus services have been suspended.

According to the authorities the supply situation is indeed "very difficult, even disastrous." In the streets of Warsaw one hears increasingly--and this view is shared by the branch trade unions--that protests cannot produce an extra kilogram of meat. And yet Solidarity continues its extortionist policy. According to a communique of its press spokesman published by PAP, it has been decided to keep up the blockade in the center of Warsaw until Wednesday, a day for which Solidarity has called a 2-hour "warning strike." A round of negotiations with the government scheduled for Thursday would only take place if, it said, the "street conflict" had been settled beforehand. Solidarity is planning work stoppages and other counterrevolutionary actions in various parts of the country during the next few days.

PAP reports that the PZPR Central Committee is to meet next Saturday to discuss current problems and measures against the worsening social and economic situation as well as the party's work after the Extraordinary Ninth PZPR Congress.

DEFENSE MINISTER HOFFMANN PRAISES DEAD BORDER GUARD

LD041402 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1308 GMT 4 Aug 81

[Text] Berlin, 4 Aug (ADN)--GDR Defense Minister Army General Heinz Hoffmann has conveyed heartfelt sympathy to the parents and those who survive Sergeant Klaus-Peter Braun. The member of the border guard was murdered on 1 August while performing his responsible service to protect the GDR state border.

In recognition and appreciation of the loyal and selfless fulfillment of his duty in securing the GDR state border, the minister posthumously appointed Sergeant Klaus-Peter Braun cadet sergeant and awarded him the order "For Services to People and Fatherland" in gold.

In his home town representatives of local party and state organs and numerous workers expressed their deep sympathy to the relatives of the murdered border soldier.

PART THREE OF HORIZONT SERIES ON BERLIN WALL

AU041840 East Berlin HORIZONT in German No 31/1981 p 32

[Stefan Doernberg and Franz Koehler report: "August 61"--third of six installments]

[Text] When on 13 August 1961 the GDR secured its state border, all the plans of militarist quarters in the FRG and West Berlin to "redeem" the GDR, to incorporate it in the FRG, were foiled at one blow. Perplexity, helplessness and rage seized the advocates of such strategies. Some of them even asked for military intervention by the allied western powers: But these powers displayed a more somberminded attitude.

The U.S. ambassador to Bonn, Dowling, also calmly lived through the news that was again and again transmitted to him in the course of that Sunday morning. Without as much as turning a hair, he went to watch a baseball final in which American youths competed for the European championship in Bad Godesberg's Plittersdorf Ward. He was in select company with this attitude. His president, John F. Kennedy, who was just about to take a weekend trip on his yacht at Hyannisport, saw no reason why he should change his plans. Nor did French President de Gaulle lose his temper at his country house in Colombey-Les-Deux-Eglises. And Great Britain's Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan, together with Foreign Minister Alex Douglas-Hume, left the next morning for partridge hunting in Scotland. Even NATO Secretary General Dirk Van Sticker saw no reason for interrupting his vacation.

In view of these facts there has been much speculation as to whether the leading politicians of the three powers which maintain occupation troops in West Berlin had been informed of the imminent events.

The Ambassador Is Surprised

U.S. Ambassador Dowling displayed surprise, for example, on Monday, 14 August--at a first meeting to which he had been invited by FRG Foreign Minister Brentano--at the fact that the FRG Government evidently had known nothing of the expected GDR border security measures. He pointed out that U.S. disarmament expert John **McCloy** had only recently visited Soviet Premier Krushchev at his vacation resort in Pitsunda on the Black Sea coast. The Soviet head of government had openly explained to him that the "human trap of West Berlin" would be closed. Bonn's Ambassador Greve was informed about this at the Washington four power working group for Germany.

According to some Western sources, at these talks the Soviet head of government had even explicitly requested that McCloy convey to President Kennedy that the immenent measures in Berlin would only affect traffic between the GDR and West Berlin, but would in no way affect the communications between West Berlin and the FRG or the rights of the Western Allies. By doing this, he had wanted to prevent the United States from misunderstanding the measures ahead and from reacting to them militarily if taken by surprise.

McCloy, asked at a later date about such a message from the Soviet premier, replied: "Well, obviously he wanted me to convey his official position to President Kennedy; that is, to my government. I cannot remember any special information. Possibly my notes would help in this respect."

The Closed Back Door

It is incredible for a diplomatic of McCloy's caliber not to be able to remember such an important event, even more so since the first secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Soviet Premier Khrushchev, in a speech on 7 August 1961, confirmed this message in public when he stated, after an appeal to the Western powers to begin negotiations with the Soviet Union about detente in Europe, "the imperialists believe that the present situation opens a welcome back door to them for distrubing the development of the GDR as a socialist state.

They are using West Berlin as a strongpoint for subversive activities against the GDR and other socialist countries. The imperialists are only striving to open this back door even wider.... But they are being told instead...we shall...close your back door to the GDR."

More evidence also exists for the assumption that at least the heads of the Western powers were informed of the GDR's intention to secure its borders with West Berlin: On 10 August Marshal I.S. Konev, one of the most experienced military leaders of the Great Fatherland War, was appointed commander in chief of the group of USSR armed forces stationed in Germany.

On that same day he received in Wuensdorf the chiefs of the Western allied military missions in Potsdam for a first meeting. The participants in this meeting made it known shortly after 13 August that Marshal Konev had suggested in his toast that, regardless of what would happen in the next few day, Western allied interests would not be affected by it. However, when Colonel (Pawel) of the U.S. military mission in Potsdam subsequently was to confirm these statements by Konev in front of a TV camera, he said that "he could not remember them." The parallel with McCloy is evident. Moreover, even other involved persons in leading positions such as Kennedy's special adviser Theodore Sorenson suffered--when asked about the existence of such information--a conspicuous loss of memory. And the entire documentation concerning the news situation on the eve of 13 August was "no longer traceable" at the archives of the FRG Federal Information Service in Pullack.

What is conspicuous is that none of the persons involved went as far as to deny directly that the governments of the Western powers had been informed that the GDR would secure its borders to West Berlin even though the details and precise date of the preparations had remained unknown to them as a result of the perfect secrecy. The gaps in the memories of the named persons interviewed may be due to their official discretion.

For The Sake of Our Own Security

There is no need for such a chain of arguments to arrive at the final conclusion that the Soviet Union and the GDR had circumspectly seen to it that the governments of the Western Powers were spared any false reactions. A review of the last few days preceding 13 August 1961 proves that it must have been clear at least for attentive political observers that the existing situation of an uncontrolled, open border would not continue much longer.

The 13th SED Central Committee plenum took place in Berlin from 3-4 July. It became obvious in the speeches, contributions to the discussion and decisions that, in view of the constantly increasing provocations, disturbing economic measures and sabotage actions and of the intensifying ideological diversionist work from the FRG and primarily from West Berlin, the party must further enhance its fighting strength and must even more effectively arm itself for strengthening the GDR's sovereignty. Resolute measures were necessary to oppose the political and economic diversion, the currency manipulations and the more and more open and purposeful shanghaing of experts and young people. A few days after that more then 5,000 activists of the Berlin Party organization convened at the Werner Seelenbinder Hall. They displayed their determination not to endlessly put up with the machinations aimed particularly against the residents of the GDR capital of Berlin. In his report, Paul Verner, first secretary of the SED Berlin Bezirk party organization, made it clear that the GDR was going to assert its own sovereign rights and put an end to the possibilities, originating in West Berlin, for causing disturbances.

In this context, he underscored that questions were involved which were an internal affair of the GDR and that nobody intended to interfere in West Berlin's internal system or to cut West Berlin's communications with other countries. Such an accentuated limitation of the impending political activities ought not to have escaped Western observers, just as tasks set for enterprises should not have escaped them, such as preparing solutions if Western deliveries and imports should stop in case of a further exacerbation of the political situation.

And the speaker's statement that each one of those present was dutybound to quickly further enhance the state of training and combat readiness of the combat groups, should have removed even the last doubts about the fact that the GDR would not content itself with empty protests against the continuous violations of its sovereignty.

On 26 July 1961 the SED Central Committee Secretariat deliberated with the members of the bureau of the SED Berlin Bezirk leadership on further enhancing the fighting strength of the Berlin party organization. In the next few days members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee Politburo went to rallies, large enterprises and key points of political and social life in the capital in order to activate party work through their personal example.

Exacerbation of the Situation

Since shanghaing, trafficking in human beings, sabotage activities and diversionist activities continued unabated, on 29 July the GDR Government penalized enticing employees away from their jobs, and appealed to the population to put an end to trafficking in human beings. However, the firebrands in the FRG, the more than 80 espionage and agent centers located in West Berlin, as well as the mass media, first of all RIAS [Radio in the American Sector] lost all sense of proportion and further exacerbated the situation. Plan lags developed in the enterprises, and insecurity spread among certain parts of the population as to whether the GDR Government would be capable of keeping developments under control. By the end of the month the untenability of the situation had become so obvious that even U.S. Senator James William Fulbright, who at that time was chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the U.S. Senate and thus had an important say in decisions on international questions, literally stated over television on 30 July: "I do not understand why the East Germans do not close their borders; I believe they would have a right do so."

No Answer From West Berlin

Despite the already tense situation, the GDR still strove to arrive at a solution of the problem of people working across the borders and at a normalization of the relations between the GDR capital and West Berlin by way of an amicable agreement. For this reason Friedrich Ebert, the greater Berlin mayor, on 39 July addressed a letter to West Berlin's ruling Mayor Willy Brandt, proposing to eliminate the tensions and to establish normal relations through negotiations.

At that time, however, the ruling quarters in Bonn as well as in West Berlin were not willing to acknowledge their blatant misinterpretation of the situation. They continued to insist on the claim to sole representation, a claim that was contrary to international law, ignored the GDR state's existence and continued their policy aimed at incorporating the GDR. At that time, Willy Brandt thought that he could ignore Friedrich Ebert's offer for an understanding.

On the last day of July, the bloc of antifascist parties and mass organizations appealed to all GDR citizens and asked them to further strengthen their socialist state and to vigorously oppose the disturbing measures proceeding from West Berlin. The "Otto Krahmann" brigade of Berlin's Oberspree cable works became the pioneer of new economic efforts. It stated in an appeal to the working people: "Do not permit any plan lag! Defeat the militarist with feats in socialist production!"

Committees for the "struggle against trafficking in human beings" emerged in many Berlin enterprises in the first 7 days of August. Some 600 workers, employees and members of the intelligentsia, Party members and people not affiliated with the Party, by their work strengthened the realization, growing in the enterprises, that the shanghaing and economic diversionist work could only be ended with resolute measures.

On 2 August a sentence passed by the GDR Supreme Court made it clear that the GDR's repeated declarations of intent to establish normal relations in Berlin were meant seriously: Five people who had made a job out of enticing away employees were sentenced to stiff jail sentences.

MAGYAR HIRLAP ASSAILS LATEST SOLIDARITY MOVES

AU041617 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 2 Aug 81 p 2

["BO" article: "It Happened Last Week"]

[Excerpt] Some local organizations of Solidarity stepped up the escalation of fomenting tension another notch when they began organizaing marches to protest the lack of food and other consumer goods a few days ago.

It is not only in the last few days that Poland's population has been beset by a lack of food and other consumer goods. Therefore, the question occurs to observers that at a time when the Polish Government--as Premier Jaruzelski said in his speech at the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress--is striving to ensure a fair distribution of the existing meager stocks through emergency measures as, for instance, the introduction of a coupon system and the present further reduction of meat rations, why do some Solidarity organizations deem it necessary to fuel the flames by their actions?

Their initiative is not without danger because there is no guarantee that, in the overwrought mood, the actions would not deteriorate. Therefore, one is justified in presuming that the inspirers lurking in the background--for instance, the special "Polish section" set up at the U.S. State Department--are plotting precisely such a deterioration of the actions, in order to maintain the "controlled tension" in Poland.

Escalating the tension in Poland is in the interests of the enemies of the Polish people, as the latest provocative step of the U.S. Congress also proves. The House of Representatives has adopted a resolution on the basis of which--as Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Clement Zablocki announced--the United States "will not remain indifferent to any oppressive measure in Poland." By this Washington claims the right to dictate to a sovereign government what measures it may or may not employ to establish order in its own country. This warning cannot be appraised in any other way than as an open instigation of actions against the society by antisocialist elements.

MAGYAR HIRLAP: U.S. WEAPONS THREATEN ALL EUROPE

AU040937 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 1 Aug 81 p 3

[Levente Soos article: "Europe"]

[Excerpt] Unfortunately, at the moment the situation prevails in which, at forward area bases, the United States keeps nuclear weapons and corresponding carriers in readiness against the Soviet Union and its allies which threaten Europe as a whole, even raising the danger of a nuclear world war. It is because of this imbalance that the Soviet Union is obliged to implement countermeasures, not to threaten the population of West Europe, but to restrain aggression. The Soviet Union would like to reduce the danger through negotiations, on the basis of coming to terms. However, that would require joint efforts; a bilateral intention and good will do not suffice. To be sure, it is not possible to guarantee the security of a single European country if the security of all of them is not guaranteed at the same time. Thus, the security of all European countries is necessarily linked to the security of the Soviet Union. Apart from that, the Soviet Union is seeking a solution with the West European countries which would not threaten the United States: The Soviet proposal intends to guarantee its security in the same manner as that of all the European countries. That is why the Soviet Union is in favor of resuming Soviet-U.S. talks as soon as possible.

The Washington and NATO plans to deploy new U.S. nuclear missiles in several West European countries risk European peace and, thereby, world peace. This is being realized by increasing number of people in the West European countries, even among the Atlantic allies of the United States, who voice their opposition to the arms race. Nevertheless, at the recent Ottawa meeting, a summit conference of seven capitalist countries, leaders of the European countries present, under U.S. pressure, adopted a sharp anti-Soviet position, strengthening the Reagan administration's so-called hard line, which rejects entering into direct talks with the Soviet Union or makes it subject to conditions. Reagan's unbending inflexibility manifested itself at the Ottawa conference also in the fact that, to the detriment of and contrary to the interests of his European allies, he persisted in the policy of reducing and limiting commercial-economic relations with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries.

The interests of the European countries, including the capitalist ones, are developing counter to the intentions of the U.S. hawks, and these interests consist of maintaining detente, resolving conflicts through negotiations and developing political, economic and cultural relations. There are indications that the masses have begun to stir throughout Europe, demanding negotiations, instead of armament; the mass protest movement has already succeeded once, in the matter of the neutron weapon.

However, the situation is serious. U.S. policy is threatening, with Europe--and, together with it, the entire world--reverting from detente to a cold war. We are concerned. However, concern itself is not enough; every effort must be made to maintain detente, for the sake of European and world peace and to turn the recommendations of the Final Act signed in Helsinki exactly 6 years ago into reality.

The ancient Romans said: "If you want peace, prepare for war." Although it sounds somewhat cynical, we might say: If you want peace, be so strong that the aggressor will lose his inclination to attack. The generations that grew up in the 36 years since World War II are living in peace and have heard of war only from their fathers' stories. They have an idea of it only through books and movies. We would like a lasting continuation of peace. However, it remains a contradiction of our era as well that to deter aggression peace must also be defended through weapons.

It is important that this should become an even more conscious implication, not least among the younger generation.

NEPSZAVA REGRETS LACK OF PROGRESS IN CSCE PROCESS

AU042034 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 1 Aug 81 p 1

[Peter Barabas article: "The Spirit of Helsinki"]

[Text] How distant that day, 6 years ago, seems to us today! On that day, 35 countries' leaders sat down at the same table to sign a document that had been regarded by many responsible statesmen as illusory not long before. The Helsinki Final Act signed on 1 August 1975 was the product of immense efforts. Its birth was preceded by only a few truly peaceful years, during which the strength and prestige of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries and the success of their peaceful endeavors chaneled international events in a new direction.

Former British Prime Minister Eden regarded the Soviet plan of European security submitted in 1955 as some kind of an absurd propaganda trick. Twenty years later, we had in our hands a charter of European cooperation, characterized thus by Leonid Brezhnev: "Everyone for whom the peace and security of our planet is precious has won."

Helsinki was not regarded as the final phase, but much more as the beginning of a historical process by the socialist countries. It was not their fault that continuation constituted a backing away from the Helsinki principles rather than progress.

Already the Belgrade meeting, which was destined to keep alive the Helsinki spirit, indicated that the United States and its NATO allies, flying in the face of the sensitive compromise, wanted to make the socialist world pay a price for detente and, along with an unprecedented boosting of armaments, were also seeking ammunition for a more successful ideological struggle in the Helsinki Final Act.

Since the Reagan administration's assumption of office, the senseless practice of setting a price on detente has become even more obvious. At the Madrid meeting, which began last November, a longer recess was again arranged without coming to terms on the most disputed issues. Breaking the impasse was torpedoed primarily by the attitude of the Americans. This aggressive and demanding attitude, an anti-Soviet one in almost all of its public manifestations, has made the development of a sensible compromise impossible.

Unfortunately, Washington has forgotten the bitter experiences of the past, which induced former Secretary of State Kissinger to conclude, for instance, that "the dispute over detente arises over a whole array of wrong interpretations and excessive simplification. One of the misunderstandings is that detente is a favor that we accord to the Soviet Union or that we can withhold as punishment." Many things had to happen for the then head of U.S. diplomacy to make clear, along with formulating the White House's anti-Soviet theses, that Washington is obliged to proceed from acknowledging the strength of the Soviet Union in its political activity. And a great deal had to happen on the American side to forget this and seemingly to appreciate, but in fact, underestimate the Soviet Union's strength, try to upset the balance of power and set a price on detente.

Still, Helsinki has done more than introduce the atmosphere of peaceful cooperation to the world, and remembrance arouses more than nostalgia on the anniversary. The entire Helsinki process has also proved the strength of the socialist countries and the fruitful effect of their peaceful endeavors. This strength nurtures our faith in being able to successfully oppose those who want to drive the world back to the darkest years of the cold war.

BRIEFS

DELEGATION TO NICARAGUA--At the invitation of the national leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front, a party-government delegation led by Sandor Racz, member and head of a department of the MSZMP Central Committee, departed for Nicaragua on Thursday to attend the festivity staged in Managua on the occasion of the second anniversary of the victory of the revolution and the 20th anniversary of the establishment of the Sandinist National Liberation Front. [Text] [Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 17 Jul 81 p 4 AU]

GREEK COMMUNIST LEADER'S VISIT--At the invitation of the MSZMP Central Committee, Antonios Ambatielos, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Greek Communist Party, has visited Budapest. On Friday, Andras Gyenes, secretary of the Central Committee, had talks with the Greek party's representatives. In a cordial and comradely atmosphere, they reviewed topical aspects of international life, the international communist movement and relations between the two parties. The discussion was attended by Gyula Horn, deputy head of the Central Committee's International Relations Department. [Text] [Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 27 Jun 81 p 6 AU]

KATONA TO PHILIPPINES--Imre Katona, secretary of the Presidential Council, has gone to the Philippines to attend, as personal representative of the chairman of the Presidential Council, the inauguration ceremony of F.E. Marcos, president of the Republic of the Philippines. [Text] [Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 28 Jun 81 p 4 AU]

JARUZELSKI SETS UP ANTICRISIS HEADQUARTERS

LD041840 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 4 Aug 81

[Text] We just received a communique saying there was a meeting of the Government Presidium today, in connection with the worsening situation in the country. Firm decisions were taken. The premier, Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, set up, within the framework of the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers, an Anticrisis Operational Headquarters under the direction of deputy Premier Janusz Obodowski. The tasks of this extraordinary government body will include, among other things, the ensuring of means essential to the society to endure the acute supply crisis and of conditions for the functioning of the economic and defense infrastructure.

For this purpose, the Anticrisis Operational Headquarters is given full powers to define the size of production and supplies of basic consumer and industrial coproduction supplies; to make decisions in the sphere of market and export production, of import, of the distribution of deficit and rationed goods; of the use of materials and energy; of limiting investments and of transferring the labor force and economy measures.

The composition of the headquarters includes the ministers of the basic ministries, the chairman of the State Price Commission and representatives of the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The headquarters will make use of the services of advisers and experts.

The premier also set up, under the direction of Deputy Premier Stanislaw Mach, an extraordinary commission to fight speculation. He also recommended the setting up of corresponding commissions at voivodship and urban levels. They will apply all the measures available within the framework of the law in force. In order to increase their powers, particularly regarding the harshness of the penalties applied, including those applied to the parasitic element, a corresponding bill will be drafted and will be urgently proposed in the Sejm.

The Government Presidium discussed the plan for a firm, acute struggle against speculation. Antispeculation measures will cover bazaars and markets. Checks on freight transport from wholesale to retail trade and on the procurement and storage of foodstuffs and raw materials for their production will be intensified.

There is no threat of famine in Poland; but there is just enough food to meet its basic essential needs. All food must be delivered to the shops to supply the population. There can be no toleration of its theft, seizing by speculators and storage with the aim of speculation.

The government declares absolute war on speculation. Goods stored or sold at speculating prices will be confiscated and handed over to the shops; those guilty of speculation will be punished.

The government is counting on the broadest possible public participation in the checks, which will be carried out by state (?bodies). It thinks that members of the Citizens' Militia voluntary reserve, of social control committees and representatives of the consumer federation should participate. The government also appeals to the trade unions for broad participation in this activity, aimed at protecting the market and the interests of the population.

Undertaking ad hoc measures aimed at combating negative phenomena, the government stresses that the implementation of the government program for getting out of the crisis and stabilizing the economy will have primary significance in improving the situation.

SOLDIERS USED TO INVESTIGATE MARKETS, SPECULATORS

LD041808 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 4 Aug 81

[Text] Bazaars, open markets and storerooms are being inspected by the militia, jointly with professional and social inspectors, and soldiers of the military's internal service.

In Biala Podlaska an investigation was initiated against the manager of a warehouse who sold directly, among other items: refrigerators, automatic washing machines and sewing machines. In the vicinity of the rest centers at Jezioro Biale, militiamen detained 2 men who had 569 packets of "popular" brand of cigarettes on them.

In Lodz, functionaries discovered a kind of wholesale base which supplies illegal drink vendors with vodka. The role of the wholesale base was played by an agency shop, whose supplier distributed wine taken from the warehouse straight to the drink-vending points. It was established that during the last 2 weeks alone, he delivered in this way over 5,000 bottles, earning at least Z100,000.

In Gdansk a delivery man was arrested, who during 1 day sold 1,500 bottles of vodka. In one of his garages, 500 bottles of "Zytnia" vodka--still in the crates--were discovered.

TRYBUNA LUDU REPORTS MEASURES TO FIGHT SPECULATION

AU041046 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Aug 81 pp 1,2

["C.R." report: "State Trade Inspectorate on the Government Presidium's Decision--Intensified Antispeculation Measures"--capitalized passages published in bold face]

[Text] AS ALREADY REPORTED, THE GOVERNMENT PRESIDIUM DECIDED TO USE EXTRAORDINARY MEANS IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST SPECULATION AND THE INTERCEPTION OF STAPLE CONSUMER GOODS. "WHAT DO YOU INTEND TO DO TO IMPLEMENT THAT DECISION AND WHAT HAVE YOU DONE ALREADY?" WE ASKED PIOTR OXTASZEWSKI, CHIEF INSPECTOR OF THE STATE TRADE INSPECORATE.

Our activities are directed at trading places, market places and street vendors, Comrade P. Ostaszewski told us. THE GOVERNMENT PRESIDUM'S RESOLUTION WILL HELP US WIN ALLIES, THAT IS, THE PEOPLE WHO WILL COOPERATE WITH US--ALSO IN THE PHYSICAL SENSE--BECAUSE ONLY WE AND THE MILITIAMEN HAVE BEEN ACTIVE RECENTLY IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST SPECULATION. We will now be helped by soldiers. Our program envisages ad hoc control checks in various forms to counter speculation. Such control checks have been carried out in the past few days as well.

THE TRYBUNA LUDU editorial board asked for more information from the Warsaw branch of the State Trade Inspectorate. Here it is:

The control checks carried out on Saturday night by the Zoliborz Precinct militiamen in the area of the popular "Persian market place" at Wolumen Street brought to light sales at speculation prices of goods that had been bought out from socialized people.

THE PEOPLE DETAINED IN THIS CONNECTION ASKED THE STATE TRADE INSPECTORATE OFFICIALS AND THE MILITIAMEN TO BUY AT HIGHER PRICES FOODSTUFFS SUCH AS CANNED FISH, BEER AND VODKA AS WELL AS ALL KINDS OF CIGARETTES, CAMERA FILMS, ELECTRIC BULBS, FLOURESCENT LIGHTS, ELECTRIC SWITCHES, ELECTRIC PLUGS, SHAVING CREAM AND SHAMPOOS.

Most of the detained speculators proved to be people with regular jobs in socialized factories. Secondary school pupils and a higher study graduate were also found among the speculators.

THE INSPECTORS OF THE STATE TRADE INSPECTORATE AND MILITIAMEN CONFISCATED THE GOODS SOLD AT HIGHER PRICES AND CHARGED THE CULPRITS. THE CASES WILL BE TRIED BY COLLEGES FOR PETTY OFFENSES OR BY COURTS.

SOLIDARITY, GOVERNMENT PRESS SPOKESMEN STATEMENTS

Solidarity Spokesman Communique

LD042033 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1813 GMT 4 Aug 81

[3 August "communique" issued by Solidarity press spokesman Janusz Onyszkiewicz--read by announcer]

[Text] On 3 August 1981 there was a meeting in Warsaw of the Council of Ministers Committee for Cooperation with Trade Unions, including Deputy Premier Rakowski, and the Presidium of the National Coordinating Commission [KKP] of NSZZ Solidarity, including Lech Walesa. The government put forward its stand regarding an assessment of the country's sociopolitical situation which, in the government's view, had reached a new stage of tension through mass demonstrations on city streets. The KKP Presidium stated that street demonstrations were the result of social tension and that action in the current situation must be aimed at removing the sources of the crisis.

The Presidium put forward the stand taken by the KKP at the meeting on 24-25 July this year. The KKP is of the opinion that the crisis of the Polish economy is assuming an increasingly drastic form. From day to day the supplies of food and basic industrial consumer goods are shrinking; there is a lack of raw materials, spare parts and energy; in an ever increasing number of factories there is a danger of production coming to a halt.

The everyday life of Polish families is becoming a torment. After long months of waiting for a consistent policy to get the country out of the crisis, the KKP states that up to now a socially accepted program for getting out of the crisis has been lacking. The ration system has operated badly from the beginning and has recently broken down completely. There is a lack of determined action toward the economic reform and, through a propaganda struggle with the worker self-government movement and the (?formulation) of government bills, the authorities have undertaken a defense of the previous system of management, which gave rise to the crisis and is making it impossible to overcome it.

The KKP Presidium put forward the proposed concrete solutions and demands of the National Commission regarding food supplies, an economic reform based on worker self-government and conditions for the price adjustment connected with this reform. On individual issues, the stand of NSZZ Solidarity was as follows:

On food supplies: First, we do not recognize the unilateral decision to lower the norms of meat allocation. We demand that the government present a plan for streamlining supplies so as to eliminate the hours-long lines for rationed goods and for other articles like milk and milk products, which the countryside produces in abundance.

Second, it is necessary to take steps immediately, in agreement with NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers, which would ensure an increase in production and procurement, namely to change for the benefit of farmers the relations between the prices of procurement and the prices of services and means of production for agriculture, and also to ensure within the framework of procurement the appropriate supplies of coal and fodders, to increase the supplies of machinery and tools, and thus to strive to limit the black market. It is also necessary to increase rapidly the production and deliveries of means of production for agriculture. We demand that a special plenipotentiary of the government be appointed to deal with matters pertaining to foodstuff assistance.

Third, it is necessary to lift the bans imposed on the transportation of foodstuff articles between voivodships.

Fourth, it is necessary to consider, in agreement with NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers, the demand for creating opportunities for the voluntary exchange of meat coupons for an additional allocation of fodders.

Fifth, Solidarity will appoint at all levels social commissions to which the government ought to grant powers to supervise production, turnover and distribution of foodstuffs in order to ensure just and harmonious supplies to the shops and to inform the population about deliveries. Solidarity will also appoint a commission of experts dealing with matters of production, procurement, transportation, storage and distribution of foodstuffs.

As regards the matter of prices: The union cannot agree to a change in retail prices not only without a just system of compensation but also without this price change being linked closely with the economic reform based on workers' self-government and on the social supervision of the implementation of this reform.

The carrying out of the price adjustments and the fixing of the level and form of the compensation must receive social approval.

As regards the matter of the economic reform based on workers' self-government: First, the KKP gives full support to the social movement which favors self-government expressed in workers' councils and founding committees coming into being. Such initiatives have already been undertaken by certain regional boards of our union and by the network [siec] of NSZZ Solidarity factory organizations in leading factories. This is a movement whose aim is the social management of social assets, and this is expressed inter alia in the draft statute on social self-government.

Second, the draft statutes presented by the government on workers' self-government and enterprises do not correspond to the principles of authenitc workers' self-government. They do not grant at all to the workers' councils powers enabling them to manage enterprises.

The government's draft statutes withhold from workers' councils in particular the right to appoint and dismiss directors of enterprises and this causes them to be officially dependent on the state administration.

Third, the KKP demands that the Sejm pass a statute on enterprises and workers' self-government which will ensure the implementation of the above-formulated principles of authentic self-government. At the same time there must come into force legal acts which guarantee the granting of economic independence to enterprises as a foundation of workers' self-government.

As regards the matter of the statute about the trade unions: The KKP demands that it be acknowledged that the previously agreed upon text should be the foundation of legislative work. This text can be improved. However, undermining the trade union movement's rights which have already been agreed on is not permissible.

From the Commission for Legislative Work and the Sejm Deputies Club .... Excuse me, I cannot decipher the text because it is smudged over.

The KKP Presidium expects that the government make its stance known on the following matters: First, conferring the appropriate social powers to commissions supervising foodstuff supplies. Second, the appointment without delay of an office of a government plenipotentiary for matters of foodstuff assistance. Third, the restoration of the previously established meat rations.

Fourth, the restoration of the original shape of the draft statute on trade unions prepared by the team of the Council of State. Fifth, halting the campaign against workers' self-government. Sixth, embarking on any activities in the matter of the price reform depends on acceptance by the public. And seventh, access of Solidarity to the mass media.

At the same time, in view of the reports reaching the deliberations hall about the authorities having blocked the previously fixed route for the protest demonstration in Warsaw in the matter of the foodstuff situation, the KKP Chairman Lech Walesa pointed to the need of resolving this incident immediately. The government side stated that at present it is not able to adopt a stance on the program presented by Solidarity.

Deputy Premier Rakowski proposed that matters which were raised by NSZZ Solidarity be discussed at the next meeting.

[Dated] Warsaw, 3 August 1981. [Signed] Janusz Onyszkiewicz, press spokesman of NSZZ Solidarity's KKP.

Barecki Comments on Communique

LD042112 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1813 GMT 4 Aug 81

[Commentary by Jozef Barecki, government press spokesman, in connection with the 3 August communique of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of NSZZ Solidarity; date not given--read by announcer]

[Text] The communique of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of NSZZ Solidarity negatively assesses all the government's actions aimed at taking Poland out of the crisis as quickly as possible. The participation of all social and professional organizations in those actions is a burning necessity. Guided by this aim, the Council of Ministers' Committee for Cooperation with the Trade Unions invited the KKP Presidium for talks. Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski stated unambiguously in his speech that the dangerous situation in the country induced us to extend the invitation.

We would like today to talk about that situation, i.e. the situation in the country and jointly consider what should be done so that our country does not slide into the abyss. The meeting did not have as its intention, a negotiating character. Without going too deeply into detail, it must be said that the complaints voiced in the KKP communique against the government are nothing new. They were frequently formulated by the leaders of the union and they are met with in the form of slogans in street demonstrations recently organized by individual cells of NSZZ Solidarity. One can only express surprise that, after the program of action approved by the ninth party congress on the state of the economy and the unanimous approval by the Sejum of the government program for getting out of the crisis and stabilizing the economy, the NSZZ Solidarity leaders decided to state that there has been a lack up to now of a socially accepted program for getting out of the crisis and that backs have been turned on the facts.

It is also hard to find goodwill and a desire to recognize reality in the demogogic statement which says that there is a lack of determined action towards economic reform. The compilation of a program of economic reforms, and actually of socioeconomic reforms, demands time. The Polish economy is too complicated a mechanism for fundamental structural transformations to be prepared on one's knee. The fate of many people, their state of mind and stable situation today and tomorrow, also comes into play. The leaders of NSZZ Solidarity and their advisers must know that work on the reform required many months. It is untrue, not to put it more strongly, to suspect the government of carrying out a propaganda struggle with the workers' self-government movement. The government is not waging such a struggle; unless one wants to treat the criticism in the press of the project put forward by Solidarity as such. Are the projects of NSZZ Solidarity exempt from criticism? Is criticism only in force regarding the government project?

It is untrue that the rationing system recently broke down completely. Millions of people are using the system. Regarding the material side of that system, the government divides only what the peasants and workers produce and what comes from imports. The distribution system is certainly not perfect; but it is far from a complete breakdown.

The stand of NSZZ Solidarity on food supplies, on prices and on the economic reform based on workers' self-government, on the trade union law, would need very extensive comment. Very briefly, one can say the following:

The decision on lowering meat allocation norms was dictated by the existing state of agricultural production and the procurement of animals for slaughter. The KKP of Solidarity was informed thoroughly about this decision. The government does not intend to carry out a change in prices without just compensation or without public approval. These are obvious facts which the government announced in public on many occasions.

Workers' self-government is also part of the government program for economic reforms. The shape of this self-government is the object of public discussion. The Sejm of the Polish People's Republic will decide on the final shape of this workers' self-government. I do not think that NSZZ Solidarity can decide alone on the contents and structure of self-government.

The draft statute on trade unions is at the Sejm. It is the deputies who will have the final say in the matter of the contents of the statute. All other demands contained in the first point have for many weeks and months been the object of discussion at the Council of Ministers. Decisions are also being made, of course, taking into account the realities, and not wishful thinking.

To the matters listed in the final part of the communique, the KKP Presidium will receive a reply at the next meeting which will be held on 6 August.

The appeal of KKP Chairman Lech Walesa in the matter of the immediate resolution of the incident which has arisen at the junction of Aleje Jerozolimskie and Ulica Marszalkowska [blockade in Warsaw] was groundless in the view of the chairman of the committee of the Council of Ministers. The incident could be solved immediately if the demonstrators agreed to proceed along the route marked out by the Citizens' Militia. In the whole civilized world the police [policza] marks out the routes for street activities and as a rule they are observed. This is what, among others, the essence of law and order is based on.

It is characteristic that the communique does not mention a single word about NSZZ Solidarity refraining from organizing further street demonstrations or preparatory strikes. As one can see, the leadership of Solidarity does not intend to break with practices which will cause a further weakening of the Polish economy and an increase in political tension in the country.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON WARSAW DEMONSTRATION

Blockade To End 5 Aug

NC041452 Paris AFP in English 1435 GMT 4 Aug 81

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Aug (AFP)--The demonstration by heavy vehicles in Warsaw will end at noon local (1000 GMT) tomorrow, a spokesman for the independent trade union federation Solidarity said today.

The demonstration, to protest the cut in the meat ration and the national food shortage, began yesterday, jamming the city centre with hundreds of trucks and buses.

Noon tomorrow will also mark the end of a three-hour warning strike called for the same purpose and affecting Warsaw's public transport. Another two-hour "anti-hunger" warning strike will be held tomorrow in all Warsaw district industries.

Warsaw Mayor Appeal

LD041556 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 4 Aug 81

[Text] The press spokesman of the office of the capital city of Warsaw has let it be known that the mayor of Warsaw has appealed to the board of the NSZZ Solidarity of Mazowsze region--in its capacity as organizer of the demonstration in the center of the capital--to open up streetcar traffic which is of vital importance for urban transportation.

We hope, the mayor states in the appeal, that the drivers who are also demonstrating will listen to this appeal, and will let the streetcars through, thus making life easier for the people of Warsaw.

Militia Spokesman Interviewed

LD041840 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 4 Aug 81

[4 August interview of Major Witold Zawadzki, press spokesman of the Citizens' Militia headquarters in Warsaw, with unidentified Warsaw radio reporter on the situation at the Marszalkowska-Aleje Jerozolimskie intersection—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Question] Major, what is the situation at this moment?

[Answer] As you know, Marszalkowska is blocked in the section from Swietokrzyska to Aleje Jerozolimskie in the (?righthand) direction. The following are closed to traffic: Nowy Swiat, Aleje Jazdowskie, Belwederska Street up to Gagarina Street and Aleje Jerozolimskie from the Marszalkowska intersection up to the Waszyngtona intersection.

[Question] Everybody is interested to know whether there are prospects for a speedy solution to this complicated situation.

[Answer] As far as I know Solidarity representatives are not holding any talks with the Citizens' Militia [MO] headquarters. To put it simply, the situation is formulated in a one-sided way...

[Question] You mean it is an ultimatum?

[Answer] Yes, it is a kind of ultimatum that goes back to yesterday.

[Question] Rumors are going around Warsaw that the [demonstrating] drivers have been arrested and that the city center has been surrounded by a police cordon, apparently armed with truncheons, helmets and gas, ready for an attack [natarcie]. Can you either confirm or deny such rumors?

[Answer] Of course I deny them. Nothing of the sort is taking place. There were no arrests of drivers of any kind; this is mere gossip. On the other hand, if one mentions the police cordon around the city center—well, Varsovians can see for themselves. Of course, reserve militia units [odwodowe sily] must be prepared because one does not know how the situation is going to develop.

Right now I think that organizers of this protest motorcade had and have no reason to cause any tensions or any incidents which could have incalculable consequences. Nevertheless one must consider the fact that apart from people who think there are also people who do not think. The reserve forces must stay, but there is no question of any kind of cordon, any use of force to resolve the situation.

Mazowsze Warning Strike Begins

LD050856 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0830 GMT 5 Aug 81

[Text] Here is the latest PAP report on the situation at the crossroads of Marszalkowska and Aleje Jeruzolimskie in Warsaw. The center of the city is still blocked and traffic has been paralyzed. According to a statement given this morning to a PAP journalist by Sewreyn Jaworski, deputy chairman of the NSZZ Solidarity Mazowsze region, the demonstration at the crossroads is to end this afternoon, after the completion of the earlier warning strike in the Mazowsze region. The strike started 30 minutes ago and is to last 2 hours.

So far I have not received any reports on the progress of strikes and protest marches announced in Bialystok, Lomza and Skierniewice. We received reports earlier, however, that a 2-hour warning strike ended this morning in some work enterprises in Lublin.

More on Mazowsze Region Strike

LD050954 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0930 GMT 5 Aug 81

[Text] In accordance with a resolution of Solidarity, Mazowsze region, a 2-hour strike began at 1000 in the enterprises of the whole region. The strike does not involve educational and health service centers, communications, trade and services, and enterprises which produce food, hygiene articles and medicines.

Beginning at 0900 municipal transportation went on strike in Warsaw.

This kind of protest action causes many justified reservations. The Warsaw party committee has published an appeal to party members, to primary party organizations, to nonparty people and Warsaw residents to counteract the street demonstrations, and strike attitudes [nastroje strajkowe] which disorganize production and life in the city.

Warsaw PZPR Committee Appeal

LD042118 Warsaw PAP in English 2049 GMT 4 Aug 81

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Aug (PAP)--The Warsaw PUWP Committee today appealed to party members and non-party inhabitants of Warsaw for understanding of the present situation and the resultant dangers, for discipline and restoration of the normal pace of work.

"We cannot agree to the attempts at upsetting the life of the city, pulling the Warsaw inhabitants into political adventurism," says the appeal adding that intentions to this end are contained in the ongoing Solidarity demonstration in Warsaw.

"Out of the sense of responsibility for calm in the city, for the creation of conditions facilitating the solution of difficulties and troubles, we do not accept the form of protest used by Solidarity activists. Such a way of protesting serves nothing, but only creates dangerous social tension, deepens the existing difficulties. It provides grounds for the statement that some activists of Solidarity do not have the interests of the working people at heart, but the fanning of tension and conflicts, and confrontation.

The 9th Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party that ended almost a fortnight ago created conditions for leading the country out of the crisis. We must not agree to this chance being wasted."

Mazowsze Strike Activities

LD051112 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0930 GMT 5 Aug 81

[Text] People went to work in Warsaw today feeling anxious and in a bad mood. In Warsaw today a warning strike was held by Solidarity, a warning strike which no doubt will have a negative influence on our economy. Listen to Edward (Kwarc) from the Warsaw radio and television center reporting:

In most of the striking enterprises the workforces are at their work benches but the machinery has been switched off. Here are a few examples: In the Warsaw steelworks, during a meeting of the Solidarity leadership this morning, it was decided that Warsaw steelworkers will not stop working. The workforce, in solidarity with the demands of Mazowsze Solidarity, only made a symbolic protest. Tomorrow a meeting of the workforce is to be held with the management to discuss the lowered meat rations.

At the FSO car factory in Zeran, apart from technical services, production sections stopped working, including the car assembly lines. The strike was joined by the Metal Workers Trade Union Works' Council. The same happened at the (Ponar-Remov) combine.

Sections working for export at the Kasparzak radio works were excluded from the strike. The workers at the Marceli Nowotko engineering works support the demands of Mazowsze region but they did not stop work. At a rally held yesterday, the workforce demanded a return to the old system of meat rationing and a lifting of the so-called first category in rationing. The workforce expects their demands to be met by 15 August. If they are not satisfied a protest will be made by extending the lunch breaks.

During the strike at the general Swierczewski precision engineering works a rally was organized, attended by the workforces from Wola and other factories. The joint discussion on food rationing was attended by invited specialists from the Ministry of Health and the Institute of Food and Nourishment. Some of the workforce who are not taking part in the rally are standing by their work benches during the strike.

As a result of the all-factory discussion and decision of the workforce, the Roza Luxembourg electric valves works did not join the strike. The reasoning that the need to maintain production in a situation where the works have raw and other materials available won.

In accordance with the decision of Mazowsze Solidarity the following are not taking part in the strike: the health service, retail trade, the mail service, telecommunications, works producing food, medicines and hygiene goods, as well as services, pharmacies and some industrial work enterprises.

Traffic Moves; Strike Ends

LD051052 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 5 Aug 81

[Text] We interrupt for a minute our news bulletin as we have received a report from the intersection of Marszalkowska and Aleje Jerozolimskie where reporters of Warsaw radio and television center have the latest news for us:

Just after 1200, that is at the moment of the end of the strike, a motorcade of cars and streetcars began to move from the roundabout at the intersection of Marszalkowska and Aleje Jerozolimskie. The vehicles are moving very slowly from the roundabout, and the motorcade is moving toward Constitution Square.

Banasiak, Onyszkiewicz Views

LD041548 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 4 Aug 81

["Signals of the Day" program with Wojciech Banasiak, press spokesman of Warsaw City Hall, and Jerzy Onyszkiewicz, Solidarity press spokesman, with unidentified presenter in Warsaw studio--live]

[Text] [Question] The first question concerns, of course, a full elucidation of the issue of the route of the protest motorcade. That is, I would like you to answer the following questions: How did Solidarity advise the demonstration; or, how did it advise the route of the motorcade; and next, how did this advice reach the city authorities?

[Banasiak] This means I should speak first. I have the following information and knowledge about this. Solidarity did not officially submit an application for permission of this kind or for approval of any route for a motorcade. On the 31st, that is, on Friday 31 July, a copy of the stance, really of the resolution, of the board of the Mazowsze region dated 30 July was sent. In this resolution on various protest actions there is an excerpt which I would like to read verbatim, that is, that a procession will be organized by the State Motor Transport, the municipal taxicab enterprise, municipal transportation establishments, TRANSBUD and the Municipal Sanitation Enterprise--a protest motorcade will be organized in Warsaw city center.

[Question] Thus there was no information about the route of the motorcade?

[Banasiak] There was advice about the route of the motorcade but there were no agreements at that time. Voivoda Majewski told me that day that he had talks with Mr Bujak, chairman of the central board of the Solidarity Mazowsze region, and that he proposed a meeting. Deputy Chairman Jaworski did not call that day. At about 1030 on the 3rd, that is, yesterday, Deputy Chairman of the Mazowsze region Mr Jaworski and Mr Matuszyk asked for our intervention to enable a left turn to be made at the traffic circle of Marszalkowska Street and Aleje Jerozolimskie. Since the city hall authorities did not know and had not participated in approving this route, the decision was made to clarify this matter at the headquarters [of the Citizens' Militia]. Deputy Chairmen Szymborski and Nowakowski clarified these matters. The headquarters advised via city hall that it did not approve this route.

We have all heard Deputy Premier Rakowski's speech, and there is no doubt, Deputy Premier Rakowski said this, that it was the government's decision to protect this route, that is, Krakowski Przedmiescie and Aleje Jerozolimskie, as a special route from demonstrations in the face of quite a complicated political situation in our country.

[Question] Janusz Onyszkiewicz, over to you.

[Onyszkiewicz] There is one inaccuracy here. It is a fact that we applied to the militia on Saturday informing them of the route, this was on Saturday morning, the route which we planned. We were told to come back for the answer in 1 hour's time. Colleague Matuszyk called again 1 hour later and was told that the matter had been passed on, and really that was the end. Thus the conversation implied that this had been noted and there were no reservations. We thus considered the matter as having been approved, and we continued with our organizational work. Only on Monday, when it was too late for any changes, did it prove that the militia suddenly raised objections. We believe that the militia itself probably had no reservations, but as a result of some discussions or intervention at a high level the decision was changed.

[Question] This was the case. There were doubts as to the route and consequently the route proposed by Solidarity was not accepted.

Nevertheless, there arose in the talks a significant point, that is, the issue of compromise routes was raised--the decision to turn left into Aleje Jerozolimskie and over Poniatowski Bridge, or by a shorter route to Czerniakowska Street, and not necessarily along Nowy Swiat and Aleje Ujazdowskie. This compromise route had previously been approved.

[Banasiak] Maybe I should answer again since I was the first to speak. Taking the opportunity of having Mr Onyszkiewicz next to me, I would like to read an excerpt from the Solidarity press spokesman's communique, which reads as follows: Despite agreement being reached on the route of the drive-past with the city authorities--I stress "agreement"--Citizens' Militia units blocked the way [words indistinct]. In reply I told our press association that the assertion to the effect that the proposed route was accepted by the city authorities was untrue.

[Onyszkiewicz] By "city authorities" we also mean the militia, and there we were given grounds for presuming that the matter was approved.

[Banasiak] I have talked with Colonel (?Pelak) with whom the talks were held. He says that at 0815 on Monday the answer was given to the effect that the route was not approved.

[Question] What about the compromise route?

[Onyszkiewicz] The authorities might fear incidents, were it not for the fact that part of the motorcade drove along that route. This drive-past gave no reason for believing that any disturbances might be caused.

[Question] When I think of the authorities' arguments, I beleive the fact that talks were being held in the Council of Ministers building between the National Consultative Commission and government representatives was a significant argument since such a protest drive-past by the building could have been construed as something not very good: It could have been construed as applying force, pressure on those talking, and the authorities could have interpreted it as such.

But the most important issue for us at the moment is what is happening there now. Do you see any chance for settling the situation; or do you believe that things will continue like this until Wednesday?

[Onyszkiewicz] The situation can be defused within 1 hour by granting permission for the drive-past of the motorcade. If this does not happen, the drivers are intent on staying there until the protest strike planned for tomorrow. It is not our stubbornness, or the decision by the National Commission, but a determination of people who want to [word indistinct] their economists and in this way.

[Question] In conversations with various people it is frequently said that the authorities are too weak and that the community wants the authorities to be strong. Strength, of course, does not mean troops or the militia, but the authorities ought to be strong in the sense that it is often the case that they are constantly put under pressure and they make concessions. And there comes a point when they have nothing else to give and have to adopt a firm attitude: enough of compromises, since it is time to start saving the country.

[Banasiak] Maybe we are moving a bit far in our considerations, but we will return for a moment [as heard]. I agree that the situation could be settled within 1 hour if the participants in the demonstration agree to the proposed route. It runs along the central streets and would bring order very quickly.

[Onyszkiewicz] In every democratic country the question to be asked is not "Are people allowed to do something" but ?Are people not allowed to do something?" And here the question repeats itself: Why could we not pass along this route if, as demonstrated by our experience in Warsaw yesterday, this does not cause any disturbance?

[Question] But the question phrased thus can provoke complaints against Solidarity to the effect that this is, after all, an issue of ambition, that everything has been thrown into the balance. This means: If we pass along this route, all right; if we cannot, then we are not going back.

I would like to insist that a compromise be aimed at, that the issue not be expressed as "either we pass along this route or we do not move." If we consider what is going on in our country, after all, the situation is very difficult, I would like us to reach the conclusion that there is a chance of compromise--not that the authorities insist that "you will not pass this way and this is it; if you do not agree to pass along the route proposed by the authorities, then stay where you are," and not that Solidarity on the other hand says: "If we do not pass along the route as planned then there is nothing to talk about." I keep on hoping that talks will be resumed on this issue.

[Banasiak] I also believe, as Mr Onyszkiewicz put it so nicely here, that in every law-abiding and democratic country there must be regulations, regulations of order. And let us not talk here about the government, because in every city in every country the authorities stipulate the route for demonstrations and have the right to define the route when order is concerned. The rule of law requires that each institution and organization observes the law, and I believe that if Solidarity Mazowsze region, an organization of such importance, of good reputation, with the recognition and support of large sections of the community, would choose such a solution then this would help the present climate in the community. I have no doubt here about this issue.

[Onyszkiewicz] I repeat: We submitted compromise proposals but nothing came of them.

[Question] Thank you very much. Of course, we will not resolve this problem here in the studio, and this was not our job. It was also not our job to answer the question of whether in our country's present situation it is reasonably permissible to organize this sort of demonstration [words indistinct]. We did not discuss this. We talked about the specific situation in Warsaw which has to be resolved as quickly as possible for our common good.

Tensions, Weariness Noted

LD041612 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 4 Aug 81

[Text] It is diffiuclt to begin this program. It was already very difficult yesterday, but we were counting on the fact that time, as it passed, would at least decide the Warsaw conflict; that a compromise would be found, which would be acceptable to both sides.

Vehicles are standing at the turning circle; Warsaw is waiting for a solution, people are commuting as best they can. There is calm, but in this calm there is also tension, and enormous weariness. Being so attuned to the opinions of our listeners, always (?sharing with them mutual confidence), this time too, in the hours of the August unrest, we wish to be together with you and will those drivers who are also tired, and who are are waiting for the dispute to be decided; and with those who--in the face of these situations--have to make decisions which weigh not only on the fate of individuals and groups, but on the destiny of the whole of society; and with those who, for example today, phone us beginning in the early morning to ask: How will the Warsaw conflict be decided? What general principle should be accepted in the present difficult conditions?

We say, as always, that it is imperative to talk, to speak the whole truth to one another. It is necessary to establish platforms for an agreement. The next round of talks between the government and Solidarity was announced for Thursday. We shall wait.

MEDIA COMMENTS ON WARSAW PROTEST ACTIONS

GLOS PRACY: Values

LD041502 Warsaw PAP in English 1405 GMT 4 Aug 81

[Press review]

[Excerpt] Warsaw, 4 Aug (PAP)--The Polish press today brings commentary on the street demonstrations in Warsaw.

In a commentary "There Are Supreme Values", trade union daily GLOS PRACY opined:

"The crisis in Poland enters a dramatic and an extremely dangerous stage. Today it is important to avoid a disaster. In view of such prospects, the troubles of our life and legitimate embitterment of the society, which must not be ignored, acquire quite a different dimension.

"If today we speak in the name of the highest interests of the working people and address not only the authorities but also these working people, we are guided by the deepest conviction that the supreme values, much more important than everyday dry bread, are in mortal danger. These are values beyond any price.

"After a year of historic events on which every honest Pole has been pinning greatest hopes, the demonstrations spilled over into the streets. The centre of Poland's capital is paralyzed. The thing which happened was what we feared most and against which signatories of the now undermined line of agreement warned each other. The situation came into being which can already be termed as an uncontrolled course of events. This situation is taking place in the heart of Poland.

"The time has come for the assurances about pooling the efforts of everybody and of the entire nation to save the country to become true", GLOS PRACY said.

Bielecki in TRYBUNA LUDU

LD041816 Warsaw PAP in Russian 1500 GMT 4 Aug 81

[Excerpt] Warsaw, 4 Aug (PAP)--Concerning the socioeconomic situation in Poland, TRYBUNA LUDU publicist Jerzy Bielecki writes that throughout the 11 months since the August events, since the period when the most difficult issue was resolved within the walls of enterprises and over the negotiation table, we have been dealing with street demonstrations, which are dangerous and threaten the people with unprecedented consequences. These spontaneous activities cannot be an answer to the difficulties, because such reaction, contrary to [word indistinct] may become reaction which cannot be controlled by anybody. What in this case should be done? How can we help ourselves? How can we overcome the crisis and facilitate day to day living? There can only be one answer: What we need is neither demonstrations nor words, but actions. A few months ago, in statements made by workers and published on our pages, one motif is repeated: Let us work shorter hours, but with greater efficiency; let us decide our problems ourselves, let us help ourselves. Unfortunately they remain only words. One cannot count the Bydgoszcz decision as worthy support of this initiative--on the basis of this decision the farmers, united in the union of farmers and individual farmers Solidarity have refused meat coupons on behalf of the workers in exchange for....20 kg of fodder. I don't know of a factory where fodder grows. Nobody in our time will defend people who are unfit for their given position, who are unable to organize the distribution of a limited quantity of goods. Neither voivodas nor ministers produce. They divide--for better or worse--what there is. There is little. Unfortunately, there is increasingly less, not more. Poland is in need.

This observation reflects the seriousness of the situation. This, however, cannot be an appeal to the world. Everyone of us who is not indifferent to the fate of the country must acknowledge this. The matter is, above all, who it is who acts in the name of the highest interest for the good of Poland, the publicist of the organ of the PZPR Central Committee observes.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY Warning

AU051216 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 4 Aug 81 p 1

[Zbigniew Lubak commentary: "That Is the Wrong Way"]

[Text] At the largest and busiest crossroads of the capital, the traffic blockade is continuing (streetcars are only running within a limited scope on the north-south route). The motorized demonstration has been stopped at the circular crossing of Marszalkowska Street and Aleje Jerozolimskie, where it intended to turn toward Nowy Swiat and the PZPR Central Committee headquarters.

In my opinion, it is irrelevant whether or not the route of the demonstration was fixed in advance. It must be added that the demonstration would have lost in importance, if it had moved toward Pulawska Street. The point is whether such street demonstrations, protest actions, strikes and meetings at enterprises make any sense at all.

True enough, the situation in the country is very difficult, the lives of the Poles have not been a bed of roses, and we have reason to be nervous and excited. But let us consider if such actions as that in Warsaw (and many others carried out recently) do not lead straight to ever more acute social conflicts. For how can a strike or a demonstration improve the supplies of food which is really scarce? Can one fight scarcity by abstaining from production? Everyone knows that, as an economic weapon, the strike is suicidal: Everyone know, but the Poles seem not to know that. The struggle against food shortages must rage not on roadways, but in the fields, and factories.

Solidarity leaders blame the government and the party for many things, accusing them of all the evil in our country. The government must introduce the reform, the government must supply food, the government must ensure this and see to that, but immediately, at once....

Before presenting demands of this kind, it would be worth considering if there is a government anywhere in the world able to accomplish all that. No, there is not, because there cannot be any. It is each nation that feeds itself, produces and works....In the best of cases, the government is able to organize the life of the nation, but is unable to substitute for the nation in its normal production work. Least of all, is the government able to accomplish that in a ruined state where, disregarding the existing situation, demands are being raised for everything and where so much is being said about the division of goods and so little about the need to produce them. If things continue like that, the slogan about a famine, perhaps still not applicable to Poland today, may prove to be real tomorrow.

The organizers of such demonstrations as that in Warsaw would be well advised to try to realize that the line of socialist renewal does not run along streets filled with demonstrators. That is not the way to prosperity and democracy.

The Warsaw demonstration is a dangerous affair, dangerous for Poland. That must be realized. The horizons of thinking in Poland must go beyond the scope of emotions.

Radio Calls for Calm

LD042358 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 4 Aug 81

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] When emotions hold sway it is difficult to think cooly, but we have all found ourselves in a situation in which calm, logical thinking and awareness of facts and realities are a necessity. The motorized demonstration organized by Mazowsze region's NSZZ Solidarity was supposed to be an expression of protest. It brought about a traffice blockade making the life of the inhabitants of the capital even worse.

Let us pause to think for a while without emotion. Every protest is directed against something, hits someone or other, and ought to produce the expected results. Those taking part in the demonstration are declaring themselves against the deteriorating economic situation, the reduction in the coupon allocations of meat, and the shortage of general purpose goods. One can understand the human embitterment. It is true that there is insufficient consistency in the activities of the state administration, that there are many wrong decisions or decisions that are too late. Representatives of the authorities themselves admit this. Neither is the fact that much can still be improved in the methods of actions in the party itself being covered up. This was stated openly by Politburo member Tadeusz Porebski in an interview given to PAP.

Let us, however, ask the question of whether such a form of protest as the continuing demonstration of Mazowsze region's Solidarity is necessary or appropriate. After all, this form of protest strikes not only against the government and its representatives but also above all against the man in the street. You see, no demonstration will fill the shelves in the shops or improve the crisis-ridden economic situation. Demanding everything from the state and making divisions into "us" and "them" shows a lack of understanding for democracy. After all, we are all creating the state and we are its co-owners, and it is on us, and only on us, that the question whether things will be better tomorrow depends. One can have understanding for strike actions, but in the present situation it is difficult to fail to understand their futility, including the futility of such a form of behavior as we are observing in Warsaw.

The point is not even that people are phoning Polish radio expressing surprise that vehicles belonging to special duty services--ambulances or urban cleaning department vehicles--are taking part in the demonstrations. Let us look and listen calmly at what the world is saying about us.

Just as it admired the Polish calm and political prudence last year, now its attitude toward the mass demonstrations is reserved and unambiguous. A crowd in the street is not a constructive response to the question of how to get out of the crisis. Finally, let us not forget one thing. We count, because we must count, on foreign assistance and cooperation. But this cooperation is possible only when we prove ourselves that we are capable of working, that we are not short of consistency, will and energy.

And one more thing: When we put forward more or less justified claims against the government and when we demand that it radically improve our life, we must be aware that it is precisely with this government, and only with it, that our foreign partners talk who can offer us their credits or additional supplies.

SOLIDARITY PROTESTS, DEMONSTRATIONS REPORTED

30,000 Workers in Kalisz

NC041858 Paris AFP in English 1841 GMT 4 Aug 81

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Aug (AFP)--Some 30,000 workers from the Kalisz region of southwest Poland demonstrated today against "shortages and the lack of social reforms", according local trade union sources.

The two-and-a-half-hour march went off without any incident, and the militia directed traffic away from the area, sources added.

In a resolution issued to authorities in the region, the people of Kalisz stressed their support for protesters in Waraswa who have been refused permission to demonstrate in front of the party's Central Committee headquarters.

Protesters Pass Resolutions

LD042232 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 4 Aug 81

[Text] A protest march took place in Kalisz today. The participants passed a resolution expressing solidarity with the protest action in Warsaw and a resolution addressed to the authorities and deputies of the Kalisz area protesting against the reduction in food ration coupons.

Piotrkow Press Conference

LD041746 Lodz Domestic Service in Polish 1440 GMT 4 Aug 81

[Text] Here is a report on a press conference held at the regional board of NSZZ Solidarity in Piotrkow Trybunalski:

Today several announcements were made in the news that there would be a report by (Zofia Girych) who sent us a Telex. Here are the contents of this Telex:

As from today in the Piotrkow region a state of strike readiness is in force during the working hours of factories. This is in accordance with the previously announced schedule of strike action which the regional board adopted as a result of the catastrophic supply situation and as a result of coupons issued in the voivodship which are not covered by goods. The action coincides with the protest of the Lodz regional board but is not connected with it. The plans adopted in Lodz have not won the acceptance of trade union members in the Piotrkow region. Statutory plans of protest were decided on. The schedule incorporates a warning strike on 7 August from 1000 to 1100 and a 24-hour Italian strike [strajk wloski] on 10 August, and from 13 August an indefinite Italian strike.

Before I continue reading the Telex it is perhaps necessary to explain what an "Italian strike" is because we know that not all of you, ladies and gentlemen, are aware of what it means. Well, this is work done while fully observing only the regulations of labor security and hygiene. For instance, if the gloves which a worker uses are not up to standard then the worker can refuse to work.

The Telex goes on to say: Editor (Zofia Girych) writes that we are giving this report precisely because at the beginning of the conference Mieczyslaw Lach, chairman of the region who conducted the press conference, accused reporters of reporting news from Piotrkow selectively. An attempt was made to formulate an unambiguous definition of the reason why the talks which the regional board took up with the voivodship offices were broken off.

The voivodship authorities stated that they are not in a position to guarantee supplies of milk, bread and meat because of central discrepancies. I must interrupt again to add that the talks were broken off on 31 July.

The Telex goes on to say that this stance does not satisfy Solidarity. It was also stated that during the talks the regional baord did not have the opportunity of specifying its stance in the matters which were discussed one after one another. The regional board demands that the voivoda commit himself to finding enough goods to cover the August coupons and those still left over rrom July.

The action will be continued according to the schedule and irrespective of this a meeting will be held on 11 August in Lodz between regional boards from Lodz, Piotrkow Trybunalski, Czestochowa, Sieradz and Plock at which their further course will be discussed and possibly synchronized in order that goods are not transferred from one viovdship to another during the protest period.

It looks as if the beginning of talks in Piotrkow with the voivodship office will take place after a visible improvement of supplies in the market. Declarations are not enough. There will also be a meeting oi Solidarity of farmers, and craftsmen of the regional board on the subject of the solutions they propose. The main point is that a situation should be created for farmers which would induce them to increase procurement. At present, it is stated, procurement is reduced also because the supplies in the countryside are even worse than in the town and covering the coupons with goods is virtually impossible. During the conference cases of waste were also spoken of with examples being given of trash heaps. So much for the report from Piotrkow.

Reaction to Rakowski

LD041752 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 4 Aug 81

[Text] In 51 works enterprises in Radomsko and its environs a 1-hour warning strike took place. The protest action, begon on 31 July and announced by the regional board of NSZZ Solidarity in Piotrkow Trybunalski, is continuing. In about 240 works enterprises strike readiness is in force.

A press conference took place with members of the Presidium and the chairman of the Piotrkow board of Solidarity, Mieczyslaw Lach. Adopting a stance towards the interview given on television by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski, it was stated that there exists a concurrence of stance; namely, the Piotrkow regional board is also against street protest marches, agreeing that they can turn into a dangerous flash point.

On the other hand it was stated that the deputy premier did not present any ways out of or methods of relieving the heightening tension.

Czestochowa Warning Strike

LD041616 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1500 GMT 4 Aug 81

[Text] A warning strike was held from 1100-1200 in Czestochowa and Czestochowa Vdiovodship, as proclaimed by the regional office of the NSZZ Solidarity, following demands presented by enterpeise workforces. Only enterprises producing food or agricultural products, and health services and the power generating industry continued working uninterrupted. In Czestochowa, buses and street cars of the municipal transportation enterprise stopped for 1 hour, but state transportation vehicles functioned according to timetables.

Before noon the Czestochowa voivoda held talks with the region's Solidarity leadership. The current situation in the city and in the viovodship was discussed and seven points of the resolution adopted by Solidarity were discussed, as well as the method and range [zakres] of their implementation.

The resolution states, among other things, the need to step up moves against speculating and taking into consideration the tourist traffic in Czestochowa [presumably to the Jasna Gora Catholic shrine] at times when unrationed goods are distributed. During the meeting it was also established that the administration and the union leadership will jointly strive to eliminate irregularities from the life of the region's community.

Lublin Strike Alert in Effect

LD041714 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 4 Aug 81

[Text] From 0600 today until further notice, a strike alert has been in effect in factories in which the main board of the Lublin region NSZZ Solidarity is active. As our correspondent Adam Tomanek writes, this is a protest by Solidarity against the government cutting the meat norms for the current month without consulting with NSZZ Solidarity.

More Protests, Strikes

LD051234 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1130 GMT 5 Aug 81

[Text] Protest actions organized by Solidarity are being held today in some regions of Poland. In Bialystok, outside the town hall, a demonstration was held in the form of a parade by a motorcade of taxis and municipal buses.

The biggest industrial works in Skierniewice Voivodship went on strike today for 2 hours. They demanded a speedy implementation of the economic reform.

Strike readiness has been announced in Sieradz region.

ORGANIZATIONS RESPOND TO PROTEST SITUATION

ZSL Presidium Views Danger

LD042254 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 4 Aug 81

[Text] A session of the Presidium of the ZSL Supreme Committee has been held at which the situation in the country was discussed. It was stated that the crisis which is becoming more acute threatens catastrophic consequences. The Presidium viewed with concern and disquiet the forms of protest adopted by those linked with Solidarity. Actions of this kind carry the danger of an uncontrolled and vehement course of events. The session voiced its support for a resolute struggle to be waged against speculation, for which emergency legal and punitive means are needed. Groundless allegations that peasants are responsible for the present foodstuff situation of the country were rejected.

TU Calls for Discussion

LD041850 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 4 Aug 81

["Text" of statement issued by the consultative council of the Public Utility Workers' Trade Unions of Poland--date not given]

[Text] The recent increase of tension demonstrates that the bilateral talks between the government and Solidarity are not bringing about any lasting results. The Public Utility Workers' Trade Union's council has stressed many times, and maintains its stance, that in matters concerning employees and their families, all trade unions should be given a chance to speak and to negotiate. The situation which has occurred recently, particularly in Warsaw, has as its main factor the issue of prestige. This is a demonstration of strength. The essential issues have been moved to the background.

Let us keep our common sense, let us refrain from all protests, let us demonstrate by solid and disciplined work.

We demand that an initiative be taken by the Sejm, which represents the nation, to express its view on the current situation and to bring about immediate talks between the government and representatives of all trade unions in accordance with the government resolution of 2 August of this year, which is treated by us as a proposal to be discussed.

National Unity Front Appeal

LD041355 Warsaw PAP in English 1108 GMT 4 Aug 81

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Aug (PAP)--The Secretariat of the All-Poland Committee of the National Unity Front appealed to all the Front's branches and resident's self-government committees to join actively in activities serving to ease the effects of the crisis and create conditions to overcome market difficulties and daily hardships. We must set up a common front of people of good will, helping each others, said the appeal.

Farmers Ask Coupon Surrender

LD050748 Bydgoszcz Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 5 Aug 81

[Excerpts] We received today a communique from the regional NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers in Bydgoszcz addressed to the farmers in the voivodship. The regional Solidarity, considering the difficult food situation among the workers, instructs all its members to surrender meat coupons in August and September for the benefit of the working class.

Voivodship Teams

LD041520 Warsaw PAP in English 1432 GMT 4 Aug 81

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Aug (PAP)--Special voivodship teams designed to help improve the situation and stabilize life have started operating in Poznan and Gdansk. So far, they can boast of a number of initiatives in perfecting the functioning of local works or streamlining economic decisions, TRYBUNA LUDU reported.

The Poznan Team, set up on the initiative of the party activists, comprises representatives as PUWP voivodship committee, other political parties, Solidarity and Branch Trade Unions, as well as representatives of state administration and trade managers, journalists. The team detects some more serious irregularities that disturb everyday life and helps distributing foodstuffs in a rational and just way and controls correct functioning of food-producing enterprises.

The Gdansk team, in turn, has been given wide powers to undertake immediate decisions on matters that pose socio-economic threats, to steadily control and size up the activities of the state and economic authorities designed to stem regressive tendencies. The team is also empowered to take personal decisions towards people who do not work properly, and combat profiteering.

MORE NATIONWIDE RATIONING, SHORTAGES REPORTED

Krakow Rationing

LD041622 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1500 GMT 4 Aug 81

[Text] The mayor of Krakow has decided that rationing of coffee, alcoholic drinks, and cigarettes is to be introduced in the city.

Wroclaw Stops Private Gas Sale

LD050926 Wroclaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 4 Aug 81

[Text] The Petroleum Products Center [CPN] management in Wroclaw informs us that in connection with the shortage in the supply of fuel the sale of gasoline to private vehicles will be stopped beginning tomorrow. Taxi drivers will be supplied with reduced quantities of gasoline. This decision is dictated by the need to ensure the supply of fuel to communal service vehicles, ambulances and so forth. At the same time the CPN management has been unable to say how long this state of affairs will last.

Speculators Denounced

AU041747 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 30 Jul 81 p 8

[Marek Kownacki article: "Enough"]

[Text] Every crisis brings forth speculators. This is true and this is the sovereign argument of those who, shrugging their shoulders, say: What can you do? I do not know whether such people can afford a pack of "Marlboro" for Z160, a packet of "Pollena" detergent for Z100 and a kilogram of sugar for Z150. All I know is that I cannot afford such prices, nor are many of my acquaintances able to afford them, and I daresay that most people in our city cannot. Almost everyone understands and comes to terms with the fact that a farmer sells the meat of the animals he has raised or the vegetables he has grown at prices higher than those obtaining in state trade. You can argue about the prices at the boutiques, although they are based on calculations of raw materials, ingenuity and physical work. But buying goods in short supply from shops and reselling them at prices several times the original is an abominable speculation which must be stamped as common theft, at least in moral if not legal terms. In the past few months, almost everyone of us has experienced the results of that surge of speculation spreading throughout the country. It is surely high time to say: Enough!

The daily experience of the economic crisis is very trying on our nerves, so let us not allow this or that parasite and crafty dodger to intensify our despair by his own actions. We can do much in this regard, although public order entities can do more. We shall presently discuss this.

I wonder why some people are willing to pay Z700 and even Z1,000 for a bottle of vodka at Zbawiciela Square, although I agree that you can say: It is their business, their pleasure. But I do not wonder at the mothers who buy powdered milk for astronomical prices, at the women who pay almost any price for stockings and even at the smokers who pay three or four times the price for a pack of cigarettes. The only thing is that--readers will no doubt agree with me--this is not the exclusive concern of those who buy; it is also our concern in that whatever can be bought at black market prices in some stalls should be on sale in official shops or the "Ruch" kiosks. It is perhaps true that there would not be enough goods for everyone, but there is no reason why with a little bit of luck one would not be able to buy such goods at the official state prices, on the condition that the sellers or delivery men do not "put their heads together" with profiteers. This is why I say to the sellers:

We have sympathetically heard your request (you can read all about it in the leaflets displayed in shop windows) that we should treat you in a humane way and not lay the blame for the goods shortages at your door. But you, too, must treat us fairly. The simplest thing for you to do is to observe the limits on the amount of goods to be sold per customer, but you must observe them in the case of absolutely every customer. What is even more important is for you to ignore those customers who come to you from the same line for the third time or are even boorish enough to elbow their way into a line. After all, you know these people, and those who wait in line can point them out to you. It is with gratitude that I can state that many sellers refuse to sell goods to such cheats, but it is a sad thing that not all of them do refuse.

Last Saturday we were able to see the results of such "tolerance" of--I do not want to say "support" for speculators. At the Zbawiciela Square, an elderly woman had a large bag stuffed with bread--for sale--which she has bought at "Delikatesy." When a woman I know offered Z10 for a loaf, she was met with a torrent of abuse... Surely the cup is overflowing.

The premier told us that the government has declared war on speculation. The control services and especially the militia bear the greatest responsibility for carrying out this war, but it goes without saying that nothing will be achieved if people do not help. But only the militia is able to take organized action. I do not know how it is possible to allow the following situation to take place:

In front of the Warsaw-Ochota railroad depot, two slightly drunk women in typical clothes sell "Pollena" detergent packets, which can easily be recognized as coming direct from a wholesale storage facility, and men in line buy them. The women ask Z100 or Z150 for a packet, probably depending on the color of the buyers' eyes. All this takes place in the center of the city in the afternoon, and somewhere in the distance you can catch a glimpse of a militiman. You can see similar sights in almost every underground passage and in front of the "Centrum" and "Supersam" department stores, where people trade in beer. I will not even mention the Rozycki free market.

Not so long ago we were able to watch the results of the militia action in Krakow, Lodz and Wroclaw. Why the delay in Warsaw? Is it not done in Warsaw? Will the population not support an action? I am quite sure of social support! Eliminating speculation brings honor, not shame. The feeble and haphazard control checks by the militia have produced nothing in Warsaw. What we need is extensive action that is repeated until it is successful.

It also seems to me (this may shock the jurists, but social interests are more important) that no thought should be given as to how the profiteers caught in the act should be dealt with: Confiscation of their goods should be the primary penalty, unless the court colleges are able to mete out some punishment, but, as we know, the process of the law in such cases is slow (at present) and hardly effective. It should be assumed that consistently depriving the speculators of the sources of their profits will do the trick--as long as deprivation is consistent. After a number of such "setbacks" for speculators the law will find it easier to pinpoint the culprits. I do not think that it will be necessary to introduce the death penalty for speculation in our country as was and is the case in countries affected by similar supply crises, but we must not let this situation intensify. Today speculation is the feature that irritates our people most.

With the help of this article, we want to initiate a social campaign against speculators. As we have said, the militia should play "first fiddle" in this campaign and should expect help from us. I think such help will be given. Perhaps our readers have their own ideas for solving the problem. We are open to proposals....

WALESA DISCUSSES SOLIDARITY ROLE AND PROGRAM

PM041444 Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 31 Jul-2 Aug 81 p 2

[NSZZ Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa article: "Our Program Is Simple", printed in "Self-Government" (Samorzadnosc) column]

[Text] I. Solidarity has had, has and must always have a sense of national responsibility. We will let no one push us away from this path. To all those who have been admonishing our movement we say: "Physician, heal thyself."

II. Solidarity is a fighting trade union. After all, as a social movement we are the product of a struggle. And we are a movement, not a conglomerate of institutions or offices. The aim of our struggle is not to achieve power, because we are not and will not be a political party. Our program is simple:

We want to see the working people lead dignified lives in their own country;

We want to ensure that no Polish family suffers poverty or hunger;

We want to ensure that our labor is not wasted.

III. Solidarity must not become an empty word--we must act in solidarity. We must not let anyone divide us--either into regions or into branches. In a difficult situation with respect to food supplies we cannot let stronger regions ensure better supplies for themselves. We must not create privileges for individual branches. Our program has been determined by solidarity and justice.

IV. A year will soon have elapsed since social accords were signed in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie. We fully realize and remember that many of the promises made by the government at that time have not been fulfilled. We see no need for any renegotiation of these accords but only for their gradual implementation over a period of time. We cannot let ourselves be divided through the hundreds of branch agreements which have since been signed. It is necessary to study them and to see what can be implemented now and what should be postponed. We have given the government credit in the form of trust, not money, and this calls for caution. We have had too many bad experiences and it is now, therefore, necessary to watch the authorities closely. We have the right to exercise control, because this is a condition of our trust on credit.

V. We are not seeking confrontation with the authorities. We want dialogue and negotiations. But it must be stated clearly and firmly that anyone who believes that a 10 million-strong trade union can be hoodwinked is mistaken. Any dialogue must be honest. We cannot agree to a situation in which the authorities submit a project for safety gloves for our assessment while seeking on the quiet to adopt without our knowledge socio-economic plans concerning trade unions, enterprises or workers' self-government. Let us restate that we represent the interests of the working people. Nothing can be agreed about us without our participation.

VI. Throughout the last year we have been putting out fires throughout the country. At times they were a result of provocations; often they were an expression and a consequence of injustice. We have been putting out these fires because they had to be put out. The country's higher interests called for this. We have acted in this way also in order to form a straight line and present a united front. The trade union must act in accordance with a strategic plan and set for itself tasks which it is possible to achieve. Since August 1980 we have achieved much and have now much to lose--we must not squander any of our achievements.

VII. The country is in a catastrophic situation--we must realize this and jointly seek salvation. Only we ourselves, no one else, can save the situation. But this does not mean at all that the trade union must stop fighting or abandon its defense of the interests of the working people. However, we must constantly remember that we are fighting for something which we want to build and that we want to demolish only what stands in the way of this.

VIII. It has taken the government 1 year to present a plan for dealing with the crisis and to begin to implement an economic reform. We cannot wait any longer. We ourselves must deal with the matter. This does not mean that we want to take over power or replace the government. It means that as a united union we will exert frontal pressure on the government and the entire central economic apparatus to make them present a program for salvation and reform and start implementing it. At the same time, our enterprise and regional organizations are beginning to put matter in order from the base up.

We cannot look on unconcerned at that breakup of the ship in which we are sailing. After all, this is our country--the Polish people have the right and the duty to determine the fate of their own country.

IX. We back the concept of workers' self-government. We believe that this will be an effective tool to ensure that relations in enterprises and the country change. We will all know that something depends on us that if anything improves it will be a result of good thinking and work of our part and if anything gets worse it will also be a consequence of bad thinking and work on our part. However, we want no puppet-like self-government, nor do we want to see a repeat of the workers' self-government conference farce. Self-government must have certain rights. We realize, however, that self-government by itself will resolve nothing. We could well jeopardize the concept of self-government if an economic reform is not implemented simultaneously. We must advance in unison.

X. For several months our trade union has been marking time. This is not a bad thing--at times you must be able to stop for a while. But let no one believe that this situation can continue much longer. We wanted to give the government and the party time for putting things in order. We want to see a strong government because that is what the country needs. But a strong government is a government which enjoys public support--it is not enough to make loud noises. The country also needs a strong and wise Solidarity which will speak with the voice of its 10 million members and act in accordance with the community's expectations. Otherwise, bitterness, poverty and injustice will be expressed only through hatred and violence. By whom would we be replaced if we were to give up, if we suddenly disappeared? A strong, dynamic and progressive Solidarity represents the best guarantee of social peace and Poland's salvation.

TRYBUNA LUDU URGES STREAMLINING DEMANDS, AGREEMENTS

LD041516 Warsaw PAP in English 1426 GMT 4 Aug 81

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Aug (PAP)--TRYBUNA LUDU today came out with a strong support for a proposal put forth at the latest Sejm session by an extraordinary Sejm committee for controlling the implementation of social agreements that the government together with trade unions renegotiate one general agreement that would comprise the most essential elements of all the agreements concluded so far.

Besides the basic agreements of Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie there are over 600 branch or regional agreements. No wonder then that there emerged quite a lot of misunderstanding around the issue. "One thing is sure," said the paper, "that even a 100-per cent implementation of the agreements will not eliminate new postulates and demands as they are a clear expression of unsatisfied needs and require to be implemented at different levels of authority. At present thousands of people at all levels do their utmost to classify the postulates and millions of those who forewarded them are of "the opinion that not much or too little has been achieved in this field."

In this connection the paper referred to the trade unions stand that under the present circumstances there is an urgent need for renegotiating the agreements, for defining their importance and mode of implementation.

TRYBUNA LUDU said in conclusion that both the Sejm and trade unions proposals constitute a chance for a fresh approach to the whole range of postulates, motions and agreements provided we overcome a false conviction that wage increases can be negotiated without increased productivity.

'SCAREMONGERING' ON STATE'S DANGER CRITICIZED

PM041223 Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 20 Jul 81 p 6

[Lech Badkowski article: "A Word to the Scaremongers," carried under the "Self-Government" rubric]

[Text] From time to time you can hear major and minor politicians talk about threats to the state, to the state's existence and even to national existence. Such statements spread, or are intended to spread, anxiety or even fear and to check demands for economic, social and, even more so, political reforms.

Threat to national existence....? It seems that those scaremongers do not know what they are talking about. In our history it has really been threatened twice--for the first time during the partitions, when national awareness was just beginning to emerge and the partitioning powers were trying either to eradicate or curb it, and, for the second time, during the last war when the occupiers strove to annihilate physically the nation itself.

No such situation exists now. It simply does not exist. It would have to be created. If the scaremongers believe that such a situation could arise, that is, that someone wants to jeopardize our national existence either by way of partition or in a totalitarian manner, let them state who and why. The matter is--or rather would be--too important to be mentioned in an undertone, to be alluded to or hinted at. Since the scaremongers have not done so, that is, have not made any statements openly and clearly, they are open to the accusation that theyhave acted in a despicable manner to further their personal interests.

Let us recall some facts familar to all. Our nation is 36 million strong. Its history as a state goes back more than 1,000 years. Whenever the partitioning powers interrupted its institutional existence, the Polish people never submitted but took up arms to regain their independence. We have contributed considerably to Europe's and the world's cultural achievements. It so happens that the presence and importance of the Polish nation has become clearly apparent just now. I am not referring in any way to the few people who have become leading world firgures. I am rather and mainly referring to the nation as a whole which has shown in an extremely difficult situation, first, courage and second, discretion. It has demonstrated that it is not powerless.

Indeed, what is at stake is the nation. Individuals may differ. We have some outstanding ones who show us in a favorable light and of whom we are rightly proud, but we also have some very shabby individuals of whom we would have to be deeply ashamed if their position in the social hierarchy depended on us. If we were to look for comfort in the face of the sad fact that the choice of people in high and even the highest positions has not been ours, we could, it seems, find it only in this fact. However, the community has responded to fate's challenge with determination, dignity and discretion.

I also reject any attempt to scare us with a supposed threat to the state's existence. And, with reference to this, the scaremongers should obviously clearly tell us who is allegedly threatening our state or our state's existence and how. What is at stake here is certainly one and the same thing even though the idea has been expressed differently--it is a question of either reducing the limits of our sovereignty or of liquidating it completely, or possibly of taking away from us some of the country's territory as a relatively minor but, to us, most serious threat.

Threats to which any nation with a sense of dignity is bound to respond immediately with armed resistance must not be made indiscriminately. If they are idle talk then they are bound to affect adversely the prestige of both those who utter them and those who are represented as a threat. And if they are based on reality then they are bound to increase a tension which is running high anyway. It is pure madness to trifle with our sense of pride and love of freedom.

We realize what the limits of our capabilities are. We have not overstepped them. However, neither are we prepared to give up the amount of freedom which we have achieved. Leaving us alone is the best way of achieving genuine accord with us.

SEJM DEPUTY VIEWS EMIGRATION, TRAVEL CHANGES

AU041325 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Jul 81 p 5

[Report on speech by Edmund Osmanczyk, Sejm nonparty deputy from Kedzierzyn-Kozle constituency, at the 30 July session of the Polish Sejm in Warsaw]

[Text] In his speech E. Osmanczyk proposed that the present passport regulations should be changed and told the house that last year some 70,000 young Polish citizens had decided to leave the country and that this year this number may exceed 100,000, which is almost one third of our [annual] birth rate.

Those desperate young Poles continue with increasing frequency to renounce Polish citizenship so they can apply as stateless persons for asylum and any work at all. This wave of purely economic emigration from Poland, for which some countries have set up special camps, illustrates to the world the depth of our crisis. For me, a Pole from Odra territory [Osmanczyk was a German citizen before World War II] for whom Polish citizenship is the most sacred gift of history, it is a shock to realize that the young Poles born and raised between the Odra and the Bug are abandoning their citizenship.

For the past 200 years, E. Osmanczyk continued, Poland has been a country of political and economic emigrants. The results of this social manifestation have been highly negative and not sufficiently positive for our people. However, an exceptional moment has arrived for us to be able to reverse for good this unfavorable relation. The moment is exceptional because as of 1 September 1980 political emigration has completely ceased, but economic emigration is continuing and is greatly increasing. We have an opportunity to become a normal nation that governs a normal state, the citizens of which know that if they go abroad they can come back any time they like and go abroad again any time they like.

As a result of World War II, several millions of Polish citizens remained abroad. During the 35 years of People's Poland at least 1.5 million--perhaps 2 million--found themselves abroad. If before 1 September 1939 there were about 8-10 million Poles abroad with foreign citizenship, it can be assumed that there are now up to 20 million such Poles abroad. This means, E. Osmanczyk stressed, that of the 50-million strong Polish nation we could have become if history were more favorable to us, at least one fourth of Poles work and fight for the benefit of other nations in the world and have very tenuous natural links with the motherland. Almost all of them have adopted foreign citizenship --some under duress and some voluntarily--and very few have remained stateless. Moreover, all of them are cut off from Polish citizenship, because Polish law does not recognize dual citizenship. What is worse, it regards living abroad as a crime--except under the conditions as defined by the administration--a crime of such magnitude that penalties apply to all members of the family. How many dramas, bitterness and desperate decisions this has caused....

Stating that the Polish postwar passport regulations have harmed our national and state interests and that they are socially immoral because they provoke many alleged crimes, E. Osmanczyk stressed that it is necessary to make immediate legal decisions in keeping with the present conditions of our state and nation.

He proposed that every citizen should have the right to a passport valid for many years--for 5 years, for example--entitling him to cross the borders of the Polish People's Republic any number of times, in keeping with personal needs or official requirements, without having to surrender the passport to the authorities after each trip, to make new applications for it and to wait and wait in lines for a new permission for a trip abroad. The legality of any administrative curbs on the basic civic right should be examined by the supreme administrative court, if the citizen in question wishes such examination.

The second condition for a general reform of passport regulations, E. Osmanczyk continued, is the de facto and de jure recognition by the republic of dual citizenship, which means that Polish passports should be given to those foreign citizens [of Polish origin] who have adopted foreign nationality or have become stateless and who wish to have Polish passports in order to regain a direct link with their fatherland, but who cannot renounce the citizenship of their country of adoption for any reason whatever (most often because of pension entitlements). Our republic, E. Osmanczyk continued, has historical obligations toward one quarter of the Polish nation abroad. He pointed out that neither a large-scale economic emigration--because of world economic restrictions--nor a large-scale repatriation would result from the implementation of those two principles. But what they would result in would be a large capital for the coming decades of the increasing interdependence and cooperation of all regions of the world. [sentence as published] As for now, the implementation of those two principles would free us from the century-old burden of the disruption of our nation into fatherland and emigrants.

Stressing that Poland had suffered the largest losses in population in the past decade through the scheme of "bringing families together" and citing the speech by Eugeniusz Mroz, a delegate from Opole territory to the Ninth PZPR Congress, E. Osmanczyk asked the government to immediately put an end to that scheme, the scope of which, laid down arbitrarily by the Gierek team without any social consultations, had exceeded the limits stipulated by the accords with the FRG. Many people of "German origin" have emigrated to the FRG for various reasons--people who are actually Poles through and through.

TRIAL OF FOUR KPN DISSIDENT LEADERS POSTPONED

NC041602 Paris AFP in English 1510 GMT 4 Aug 81

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Aug (AFP)--The trial here of four Polish dissident leaders has been postponed until August 17 due to the summer holiday period, with no action on a request to free three of the defendants who were rejailed on July 9 "without foundation", according to their lawyers.

The court said today that it needed more time to review defense documents on the reimprisonment of Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN) chief Leszek Moczulski, 50, and members Tadeusz Stanski, 32, and Romuald Szeremetiew, 35. Another member of the group on trial, Tadeusz Jandziszak, 38, was left free for health reasons. At a previous session, the public prosecutor recommended against freeing the three dissidents. "The resulting social threat would be too great," he said.

A delegation of miners from Myslowice, all members of KPN, attended the last two trial sessions dressed in their native costumes. The miners called for the release of the jailed dissidents.

Regional committees have called demonstrations for August 17 in favor of freeing the dissidents. To be held in seven Polish cities within a radius of 150 km (90 miles) from Warsaw, the protests are to converge on the capital by August 22.

More on Decision

LD042125 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 4 Aug 81

[Text] In the trial of the Confederation for an Independent Poland's leadership which is being held at Warsaw Voivodship Court a break in the hearing until 17 August has been announced. In connection with the defense's application to lift the temporary arrest of Leszek Moczulski, Romuald Szeremetiew and Tadeusz Stanski the court decided, prior to making a decision on the merits of the case, to gather documents concerning the meetings in which the accused took part after they were released from arrest in June of this year.

Let us remind you that taking part in these meetings was one of the reasons why the prosecutor's office applied for the arrest of the accused--an application which was granted at the beginning of July in relation to three of them by the supreme court.

WARSAW RADIO NOTES IMPORT OF TRUCKS FROM USSR

LD041924 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 4 Aug 81

[Text] Trucks being imported from the Soviet Union are arriving at the Polmozbyt [vehicle sales organization] station in Lubaczow in Przemysl Voivodship. So far this year this center has received more than 7,500 trucks, mainly of the Kamaz type. Construction and agricultural enterprises and power plants are taking delivery of most of them.

PZPR STATUTE TO BE PUBLISHED AS BROCHURE

AU041252 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1-2 Aug 81 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The PZPR Statute Brochure on Sale Next Week]

[Text] In response to many inquiries we announce that the brochure edition of the PZPR statute with the changes and supplements adopted by the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress is being printed under the auspices of TRYBUNA LUDU. The brochure should be on sale in "Ruch" kiosks at the beginning of next week.

POREBSKI COMMENTS ON POLITBURO ROLE, ISSUES

LD041524 Warsaw PAP in English 1416 GMT 4 Aug 81

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Aug (PAP)-- "We organize our work as best as we can, we want to wisely use up our time" said Tadeusz Porebski, PUWP CC Political Bureau member, first secretary of the PUWP Wroclaw voivodship committee in an interview granted to a PAP journalist.

"I think our collective in the Political Bureau will deal with important nationwide issues and I will have to deal with some of them. Of great importance for me will be to have a chance to present at the forum of the bureau substantial views and processes. In this transmission "from down upwards" I intend to act with the awareness of being a representative of Wroclaw and the Wroclaw Voivodship electorate. One of the issues I am mainly interested in is the organization of work within out party. In our party there is, unfortunately, a lot to be done still to improve its style and methods of activity. I would put it brutally that many of the hitherto actions can be estimated as primitive and wrong. We must have a party which is alive and wel-organized, which makes good use of the exchange of experience and of its time", Porebski said.

"The combining of the function of the first secretary of the voivodship committee with that of a Political Bureau member will practically help me to make adequate corrections, exchange experience and views. I admit that now it will be a very responsible and difficult role in the complex situation Poland finds itself in.

"The most important issue at the moment is to heal the country's economy, to improve the market supply. There are already model changes and the economic reform programme is known. Discussions are still going on but time is growing short. The situation must be prevented from deteriorating--this is of fundamental importance. Whether the existing social and economic crisis, the negative phenomena are overcome is dependent on us, on our party, its force and coherence.

In my belief, the democratic elections of the Political Bureau are a manifestation of the congress's confidence in the new party leadership. I must stand up to this trust", Porebski concluded.

CZYREK HAILS CSCE IN TRYBUNA LUDU INTERVIEW

AU041355 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1-2 Aug 81 pp 1, 6

[PAP correspondent Ludwik Arendt interview with Polish Foreign Minister Jozef Czyrek in connection with the sixth anniversary of the signing of the CSCE Final Act--date and place not given--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] Six years ago on 2 August 1975 the heads of state and government of 35 countries signed in Helsinki the CSCE Final Act. In connection with this anniversary Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Politburo member, Central Committee secretary, and minister of foreign affairs of the Polish People's Republic, made a statement to your PAP correspondent.

[Czyrek] For the first time in the history of Europe--following World War II, which was the most terrible war ever, and the so-called cold war--THE EUROPEAN STATES AS WELL AS THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA WERE ABLE TO WORK OUT AND ADOPT A CHARTER OF PEACE CONCERNING VARIOUS AREAS OF INTERNATIONAL COEXISTENCE AS WELL AS POLITICAL, MILITARY, ECONOMIC, CULTURAL AND HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION. IT WAS A FORWARD-LOOKING ACT CONCERNED WITH CONSOLIDATING PEACE AND PROMOTING COOPERATION AMONG ALL STATES. All the participants in the Helsinki conference were able to find a common denominator: the overriding interests of peace, security and cooperation of states and nations in Europe, the United States and Canada. We have reason to be satisfied as Poles with the fact that this international solution is based on Polish political ideas detailed in the 1964 proposal for convening a European security conference. This proposal was presented to the CSCE participants in the Budapest appeal issued by Warsaw Pact states.

The Helsinki conference and its Final Act produced international approval for the postwar territorial-political realities in Europe and the recognition of the inviolability of the borders of the states in Europe, which was the basic premise for international detente and security and meant the accomplishment of a Polish foreign policy's task of vital significance for the Polish people and state.

[Question] Has the task begun in Helsinki met the expectations of European states and nations? Is it possible to prevent a further deterioration in the international situation and how?

[Answer] If we look at the implementation of the Final Act as a process, we can say that FIRST, THE CSCE PROCESS HAS MADE IT POSSIBLE TO CONDUCT A DIALOGUE, DESPITE THE INCREASE OF NEGATIVE INTERNATIONAL MANIFESTATIONS IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE SEVENTIES, especially the intensification of the arms race in order to undermine the balance of power in favor of NATO and thereby the foundations of mutual trust. The dialogue in question is continuing on the bilateral and multilateral basis, as attested to by the Madrid meeting attended by many difficulties. SECOND, THE EUROPEAN STATES REALIZE BETTER THAN EVER BEFORE THAT THE CSCE PROCESS HAS CREATED FAVORABLE CONDITIONS FOR MEASURES TO PROMOTE MILITARY DETENTE AND TRUST AND THUS TO REINFORCE AND CONSOLIDATE POLITICAL DETENTE.

The proposal to convene a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe was one example of that. Let me recall that Poland, which offered Warsaw as the site of the conference, is one of the sponsors of that proposal. WE EXPECT THAT THE CONFERENCE WOULD HALT THE DANGEROUS TENDENCY TOWARD MILITARIZING INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND WOULD CREATE AN OPPORTUNITY FOR MAKING POLITICAL DECISIONS ON DISARMAMENT AND MUTUAL TRUST--THE ISSUES OF UTMOST IMPORTANCE FOR MANKIND. It is our profound wish to actively participate in implementing this common interest of European and world nations. The dangerous trends of the development of the international situation make it necessary--as in 1975--to rise above parochial interests and to intensify efforts in the fields concerning the overriding and common interests of European nations.

[Question] Could you tell us something about the Madrid meeting of the signatories of the CSCE Final Act ?

[Answer] The Madrid talks have been adjourned for 3 months. DESPITE THE OBVIOUS DISAPPOINTMENT IN THAT NO FINAL ACCORDS WERE ACHIEVED, WE WANT TO STRESS THAT A NUMBER OF AGREEMENTS WERE WORKED OUT IN MADRID in various fields, including those that are considered as difficult in East-West relations, such as human rights, religious freedom, struggle against terrorism and greater people-to-people contacts. Agreement was also reached on many issues of economic and cultural cooperation, which shows that states, especially socialist states, want to continue the policy of detente and cooperation. We would like this to be a favorable harbinger of the final part of the Madrid meeting, which will begin at the end of next October.

Agreement of the geographical range of the future conference on the means of building trust, which is an issue of key importance, still remains to be reached. A lack of response by the NATO states to the Soviet proposal that extends the zone of such means to the entire European part of the USSR is an obstacle in this regard. WE EXPECT THAT THE NECESSARY REPLY WILL BE GIVEN IN THE FALL AND WILL MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO END THE MADRID MEETING AND TO CONVENE IN WARSAW A CONFERENCE ON MILITARY DETENTE.

Poland is greatly interested in activizing and expanding the CSCE process, not only because of its historical, traditional involvement. The continuation of socialist renewal and the implementation of reforms require a favorable international climate, the development of detente, and comprehensive international cooperation, but above all an end to the arms race.

THE FAVORABLE DEVELOPMENT OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS WOULD HELP SOLVE THOSE DIFFICULT ECONOMIC AND SOCIOPOLITICAL PROBLEMS FACING THE POLISH PEOPLE. It would also hinder the activities of those cold war, militaristic and revenge-seeking circles that would like to use those problems as a pretext for interfering in our Polish affairs, for promoting the policy of the arms race and for intensifying international tension.

That is one reason why we actively participate and will continue to participate in the Madrid negotiations. All the Polish proposals we submitted in Madrid in the fall have been reflected in the agreements to date. We are pleased with that, because it is proof that our country, despite its domestic troubles, is able to make a telling contribution to important international agreements and continues to be a credible partner in international relations.

Following a break of some months, the Madrid meeting should make increased efforts in order not to disappoint the nations' expectations. The meeting should be more than just a reflection of the difficult international situation: It should help improve this situation and restore the dynamics of the CSCE processes in keeping with the letter and spirit of the Final Act of 1975.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI ON FOREIGN, DEFENSE POLICIES

LD041742 Warsaw PAP in Russian 1500 GMT 4 Aug 81

["Poland's Place"--PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Aug (PAP)--In an article under the above title, the Polish Army newspaper ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI devotes attention to the discussion at the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress concerning the international situation.

The newspaper writes that resounding from the congress tribune were words expressing the understandable anxiety of the conscious majority--not only of the working class, but of the entire Polish people--at the increased military threat in today's world; at the torpedoing of the peace initiatives of the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact states; at the freezing of negotiations on disarmament; at the further expansion of NATO's military potential, particularly the formulation of its military structure in Europe; and above all at the preparations being made for deployment of new U.S. medium-range missiles in the western regions of our continent.

In these conditions, the newspaper writes, the security of our motherland, its territorial integrity and even state existence are conditioned by the stability of the balance of forces existing on the continent. Poland is an essential integral part of this balance as an important member of the defense coalition of socialist states. Our participation in this coalition is therefore dictated not only by the call of socialist solidarity, but proceeds directly from major national interests as the essential condition of state existence.

No one at the congress disputed the aforementioned truths, nor was there any dispute over the principles of the foreign and defense policies conducted by the Polish People's Republic during its entire history.

The determination to continue its foreign and defense policy, the policy of inviolable loyalty to alliances with fraternal socialist states, expressed at the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress--this also means Poland's determination to struggle against all foes of such a policy, against those who, as was stated in the address to the Polish people from the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, would wish to divert Poland from the socialist path, split it from its allies, in particular from the Soviet Union, and against those who in their desperation are ready to gamble with the people's security and future.

However, it is not only a matter of maintaining alliances concluded for many years, but also of continuing to play among the states of the socialist community and among the peoples of the world that worthy role to which Poland is predisposed by the number and economic and military potential of our people.

Our participation in the Warsaw Pact, participation in the mighty coalition, also determines Poland's importance in the family of the world's peoples. The understanding of this truth found expression in the assertion expressed from the congress tribune that we will not permit ourselves to be humiliated to the role of a pawn on the world's chess board; that we will remain a serious ally deserving of confidence; that the overcoming of the socioeconomic crisis will restore to Poland not only its full confidence in all aspects, but will thereby also define our motherland's place in the international arena, the Army newspaper comments.

PAP CRITICIZES U.S. CONGRESS 'POLISH RESOLUTION'

LD311528 Warsaw PAP in English 1419 GMT 31 Jul 81

["Strange Resolution of U.S. Congress"--PAP headline; by PAP correspondent Stanislaw Glabinski]

[Text] Washington, 31 Jul (PAP)--The House of Representatives of U.S. Congress had adopted a "Polish resolution", which defines the House's stand towards the events and processes taking place in our country. The resolution says, among other things, that the United States could not remain indifferent to any internal repressions or external aggression on the Polish nation and that any such developments would entail serious consequences for East-West relations.

Although the content of the mentioned document is neither new nor revelational and its adoption is no special political event in Washington, it is strange that it has been proclaimed right on the heels of the 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress which has unambiguously endorsed a programme for political solution of social conflicts in Poland.

It is hard to resist the impression that the authors of the text warning Poland against "internal repressions" have not noticed at all the PUWP Congress, have not heard at all that the renewal process and social dialogue is underway in Poland. All they do is warn against "repressions", in other words, they demand from the Polish authorities to remain completely passive, for they circumspectly do not define the term "repressions", thus leaving to themselves absolute freedom of its interpretation.

The impression one gets is that the resolution and other, similar U.S. declarations are underpinned by the intention to sustain a situation of tension, chaos and insecurity in Poland. This follows from Washington's whole approach to the Polish processes, and, there can be no doubt that these processes are looked upon in the U.S. capital as a chance to weaken the Soviet Union, the system of socialist states and the socialist social system.

It should be stated openly that the United States, although its public opinion is neither hostile nor unfriendly nor prejudiced against Poland and the Poles, is interested in the Polish events only to the extent to which they serve the interests of the U.S. policy, and this policy is aimed to weaken the cohesion and position of the socialist states, the Soviet Union in particular.

Hence the warnings against "repressions" are levelled at the Polish authorities, though even a most prejudiced observer would fail to find a single trace of repressions in Poland. Hence the issue of "intervention" is being raised continuously and hence warnings are addressed to the Soviet leadership with the intent of sowing distrust between Poland and the Soviet Union and of complicating the international position of the Soviet Union.

The resolution of the House of Representatives and all the like American documents do not serve Poland's interests nor make international contacts easier. They are not in the tradition of friendship between the nations of Poland and the United States, but are a sad reminiscence of the years of the cold war and its discredited methods.

The world knows how difficult and sensitive the situation of Poland is. Our enormous problems are known to everyone who cares to take interest. Everyone can read about them in the Polish press and in the documents of the 9th Extraordinary Congress of the PUWP. Any outside interference, such as is exemplified by the U.S. Congress resolution, merely makes it more difficult for the Poles to search for solutions to the crisis. It only adds fuel to the still smouldering embers. After all there are in the United States millions of people wishing Poland all the best. The congress resolution has not been adopted on their behalf. It is not a manifestation of concern for Poland either, and this is what both Polish and world public opinion should be told loud and in a public forum.

TRADE DELEGATION HOLDS TALKS ON SUPPLIES IN FRANCE

LD312215 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Text] The Polish delegation accompanying vice minister of foreign trade, Antoni Karas, and the president of the Commercial Bank, Marian Minkiewicz, has had talks in Paris concerning the supply to our country of 400,000 tons of French grain and 11,000 tons of meat as well as sugar and semifinished chemical metallurgical and textile products for industry. The delegation was assured that the matter will be dealt with positively.

BRIEFS

BREZHNEV DEFINES LIMIT--Fidel Castro tells his visitors confidentially what Brezhnev is supposed to have told him: "The Soviets have placed a limit on events in Poland--there will be no [Soviet] military intervention so long as Polish political forces do not bring up the possibility of Poland's withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact." [Text] [Paris LE POINT in French 27 Jul 81 p 33 PM]

INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION TALKS BEGIN WITH USSR

AU041907 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1735 GMT 4 Aug 81

[Text] Bucharest, 4 Aug (AGERPRES)--Following the summit talks and understandings on the further development of the cooperation in production and of the technico-scientific collaboration among economic and research organizations of the Socialist Republic of Romania and of the Soviet Union, on August 4 talks started in Bucharest, [between] Ioan Avram, and the Soviet minister of instrument-making, means of automation and control systems, M.S. Shkabardnya.

During the talks examined are possibilities of expanding the cooperation between the two ministries in the field of automation of the production processes, computation technique, electronics and fine mechanics. Also aimed is an important improvement of the mutual exchange of goods over the 1982-1985 period and establishing the long-term programme for the development of specialization and cooperation in production, until 1990.

MIRCEA MALITA ADDRESSES LAW OF SEA CONFERENCE

AU041851 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1753 GMT 4 Aug 81

[Text] Geneva, 4 Aug (AGERPRES)--Taking the floor at the tenth, resumed, session of the Law of the Sea Conference, Romanian chief delegate, Ambassador Mircea Malita, Romania's permanent representative of the UN office in Geneva, pointed out that, as seen by Romania, the session should focus on the consolidation and development of the results already scored and on the permanent contraction of the area of disagreement on the so far unsettled problems. Pointing out that the process of negotiations was in an advanced stage, the Romanian chief delegate stressed that "the draft convention which rests on the innovating idea of the common patrimony of mankind comprises a remarkable conceptual contribution and a considerable potential for the settlement of these problems and the elimination of the discrepancies among the states of the world." The integration of this idea in an international settlement, the speaker pointed out "was possible thanks to the mechanism of negotiation characterized by equality of the parties, a genuine precedent worthy following in international diplomacy." It would be unconceivable to alter these features of the process of negotiation. This, the Romanian chief delegate stressed, calls for "persevering effort in order to avert any discontinuity and to solve with cool and patience all outstanding issues."

Referring to the position expressed by the Romanian delegation at the previous sessions, the speaker mentioned that as seen by Romania, the outstanding issues no doubt included the elimination of the maritime spaces among the limitrophe states or states facing each other, the geographically disadvantaged countries' access to fishing when they lay in regions or subregions with lean biological resources, the passage of foreign warships through territorial sea, the reserves to the convention. As regards these questions, this session should mark the passage from general declarations to concrete negotiations. In this way alone--the speaker said--the outstanding issues can be solved, with the actual participation and consideration of the interests of all states.

EMBASSY MEMBER IN BRUSSELS KILLED BY ASSASSIN

LD041300 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1128 GMT 4 Aug 81

[Text] Brussels, 4 Aug (TANJUG)--Stojan Djeric, 43, accountant in the Yugoslav Embassy in Brussels, was killed last night in another terrorist attack of the raging extremist anti-Yogoslav emigre groups in Belgium. Redzo Zuko, 25, member of the embassy staff, was slightly wounded in the attack. Zuko recently replaced Franc Spindler, wounded in the terrorist attack on the embassy less than 15 days ago.

Stojan Djeric and Redzo Zuko were extremely brutally attacked at about 3 o'clock in a Brussels restaurant in Auguste Horts Street in the center of the town. The assassin approached them and fired several shots from a revolver. The first shot mortally wounded Stojan Djeric in the head. Redzo Zuko, who jumped at the terrorist criminal in an attempt to overpower him single-handed, received a bullet in the arm. The assassin fled from the restaurant.

The Belgian police informed the embassy about the incident and the killing of Djeric only at 7 o'clock this morning, which, in itself, represents a procedure unheard of in international practice. The embassy was, thus, able only at about 10 o'clock to reconstruct to an extent what had happened.

Due to the Belgian authorities' unheard of tolerance and indolent attitude towards the raging of anti-Yugoslav terrorism in Belgium, the representative of the Yugoslav Embassy again yesterday sharply protested with the Belgian Foreign Ministry.

Ambassador Lodges Protest

LD041552 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1515 GMT 4 Aug 81

[Text] Brussels, 4 Aug (TANJUG)--Esad Ceric, SFRY ambassador in Belgium, lodged a most severe protest today with Belgian Foreign Minister Charles Ferdinand Nothomb over the terrorist attack carried out on embassy employees in which Stojan Djeric, accountant, was killed and Redzo Zuko wounded. Referring to earlier protests and demands for the protection of Yugoslav representatives and citizens, Ceric said that the Yugoslav Government expected that the Belgian organs and government, on the basis of earlier assurances and promises at the highest level, would take energetic measures and actions to stop the escalation of anti-Yugoslav terrorist activities in Belgium. However, an even greater escalation of anti-Yugoslav terrorism has taken place in Belgium in which a member of the embassy was killed and another wounded, Ceric said.

The embassy and the Yugoslav Government cannot accept the thesis that relevant Belgian organs are not able to prevent enemy and terrorist activity against Yugoslavia, and he said that such behavior by Belgian organs cannot but influence all Yugoslav-Belgian relations.

Having expressed regret and condolences on behalf of the Belgian Government and on his own behalf, Minister Nothomb first spoke at the meeting of the circumstances under which, according to the first report of the Belgian investigation organs, the terrorist killing took place. He then informed Ambassador Ceric that a special meeting of the inner cabinet had been held this morning at which the minister of justice presented a report of the event and of the measures which were being taken. As Minister Nothomb said, the Belgian Government "has taken the event very seriously, and it is causing it great concern."

Ambassador's Statement

AU041952 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 4 Aug 81

[Statement by Esad Ceric, SFRY ambassador to Belgium, on 4 August in Brussels--recorded]

[Text] At 1430, I called on Nothomb, Belgian minister for foreign affairs, and expressed the most energetic protest in connection with the killing of our accountant, Djeric, and also requested on that occasion energetic measures, comprehensive measures by the Belgian Government to prevent the anti-Yugoslav terrorist activity, to halt a veritable escalation of anti-Yugoslav activity and to protect the Yugoslav missions, citizens and their property. He told me that the Belgian Government also has taken this incident very seriously and that it is deeply concerned over this killing of the accountant of our embassy and the wounding of another member of the embassy, and that it would take additional measures in this connection.

Today at 1000, the inner cabinet of the Belgian Government met at the request of the minister for foreign affairs and discussed this incident. At the meeting, the minister of justice and his organs reported what measures they have taken in connection with this specific case and also reported on certain measures taken earlier for a more energetic struggle against the anti-Yugoslav terrorist activity. What is very important now, that is, what is essential now is to see how the promises will be carried out.

Belgian Envoy Called

LD041836 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1723 GMT 4 Aug 81

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Aug (TANJUG)--Belgian Ambassador Joseph Trouveroy was called to the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs today in connection with the terrorist attack on officials of the SFRY Embassy in Brussels. The ambassador expressed the Belgian Government's deep regret to Assistant Federal Secretary Pekic at the tragic event in which Stojan Djeric, a bookkeeper at the SFRY Embassy in Brussels was killed, and Redzo Zuko wounded. He stated that the Belgian official organs judged this event to be very serious, that the perpetrator of the crime had been identified and that forceful measures would be taken to prevent such acts.

Pekic registered a forceful protest with the Belgian ambassador and conveyed the indignation of the Yugoslav public and government at the unhindered continuation of such anti-Yugoslav terrorist activity by individuals and groupings against Yugoslav citizens working in Belgium and at Yugoslav representative offices in Brussels. He pointed out that a terrorist act such as today's against officials of the SFRY Embassy in Brussels is a logical continuation of the recent terrorist attack in the Yugoslav Embassy, on which occasion two of its officials were wounded, and also the logical consequence of the tolerant standpoint adopted by the Belgian competent organs in relation to such activity and absence of forceful measures demanded by terrorist activity.

Pointing out that any continued toleration of such activity would inevitably have serious consequences for relations between the two countrie, Pekic demanded that the perpetrator be found and punished exemplarily, that Yugoslav organs be kept informed about the course of the investigation, and, as the most fundamental thing, that forceful measures--which have been promised several times by the relevant Belgian ministers--be made to nip such anti-Yugoslav activity in the bud.

Embassy Demands Statement

LD051100 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1014 GMT 5 Aug 81

[Text] Brussels, 5 Aug (TANJUG)--The SFRY Embassy in Brussels demanded forcefully of the Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs this morning that the competent organs set out their standpoint in detail in an official statement on the terrorist attack on two officials of the Yugoslav Embassy the night before last. The embassy also demanded that this be released in the Belgian information media. This demand was made because of the tendentious coverage of part of the press and reportage by Belgian radio that the murder of embassy official Stojan Djeric was not a political assassination but some kind of mutual feud accompanied by shooting, or some kind of affair connected with the sale of arms and so forth, in connection with which official views of the Belgian investigating organs are cited.

Another Attack in Brussels

LD051042 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1010 GMT 5 Aug 81

[Text] Brussels, 5 Aug (TANJUG)--The unprecedented anti-Yugoslav terrorist campaign in Belgium continues. A new terrorist attack was carried out last night, after midnight, on Yugoslav citizen Radivoje Debic in Boulevard Lemonnier, No 85. According to eyewitnesses, three persons broke up his store window display after midnight and threw three bottles containing inflammable liquid.

Belgrade Comments

AU041722 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 4 Aug 81

[Text] The following is a commentary by Cedomir Vuckovic in connection with the latest terrorist act against our diplomatic representatives in Belgium, on which we have just heard a report from Brussels:

Following a series of armed attacks and other anti-Yugoslav crimes in Brussels, the capital of Belgium--a country which considers itself democratic--this morning people were shot in the back. This happened in a public place in the center of this city of 1 million people. It was Yugoslavs who were the target of a terrorist, and, as is usual in Belgium, nothing is known about the criminal involved. And that is not all. The Belgian authorities have turned a deaf ear to the basic moral principles. Our embassy was informed about the killing of Stojan Djeric, an official of the Yugoslav Embassy, and the wounding of Redzo Zuko, another official of the embassy, only 4 hours after the event.

The Yugoslav ambassador in Brussels as well as representatives of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs in Belgrade have most sharply protested on several occasions because the terrorist activities against the Yugoslav official representatives and other Yugoslavs continue unhindered in Belgium. Our diplomatic representatives have even warned the Belgian police in advance about the danger of terrorist acts, but no one has prevented these acts. The Belgian organs have continued to promise that they would protect our people in that country, but their words have not been matched by action. And it is precisely this, the inconsistency of the Belgian official organs, that has contributed to creating an atmosphere and belief among anti-Yugoslav terrorists that in Brussels and generally in Belgium anything can be done against the Yugoslavs without any obstruction, and that it is even possible to shoot them in the back.

Yugoslavia has also informed the Madrid CSCE meeting about the recent anti-Yugoslav terrorist acts, because the threats to the lives of Yugoslav representatives in Belgium have already assumed such proportions that wider international diplomatic steps should be taken in this connection. It is not necessary to overemphasize the fact that, according to international law, it is a duty of the host country to protect diplomatic representatives in its territory. Is that not known in Belgium?

For that reason it is perhaps time to say that, by making possible crimes and terrorism in its territory against the citizens of a friendly country, Belgium is at the same time endangering its own interests in general, especially when it is known that Belgium has become the center of European terrorism. Has the so-called Kosovo national committee for all Europe, composed of the remnants of fascism and the refugee Zogist and Ballist bands, not been formed in Brussels? If we carefully compose the mosaics of the latest anti-Yugoslav crimes committed in Belgium and the indifference of the Belgian authorities toward the terrorists, then we gain the impression that the Belgian official organs consciously protect the terrorists. Thereby they assume responsibility for participating in the dirty anti-Yugoslav plots. The brutality and sadism as well as other circumstances under which Stojan Djeric, official of the Yugoslav Embassy in Brussels, was killed this morning unambiguously confirm that.

TANJUG ANSWERS ALBANIAN PAPER'S CHARGES

LD042212 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1604 GMT 4 Aug 81

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Aug (TANJUG)--The numerous charges addressed to Belgrade from Tirana of late have been augmented by yet another: "Yugoslav revisionists" at the end of World War Two "hoped" to make Albania their "seventh republic." The above appears in the Albanian BASHKIMI daily," in a commentary on the 35th anniversary of the Paris, conference of countries-victors of the Second World War. On this occasion, the author from Tirana writes: "Greek delegate Caldaris proposed in the conference lobby to Titoist delegate Mosa Pijade a division of Albania between Greece and Yugoslavia. However, the Yugoslav revisionists did not agree, because they hoped to make Albania Yugoslavia's seventh republic."

BASHKIMI recalls that the conference was also addressed by Enver Hoxha, but that is all--all other details, historical facts, have been forgotten.

Everything that new Yugoslavia did in those days towards the international recognition of Albania has been forgotten. The "trifle" that the Albanian delegation, headed by Enver Hoxha, left Tirana straight for the residence of the Yugoslav ambassador in Paris, has been forgotten. In fact, Enver Hoxha lived for some thirty days under the roof of "Yugoslav revisionists," until the "Titoist representatives" won for him the right to address the conference as Albania's representative. At that time, Albania had entrusted Yugoslavia with representing its interests in 16 countries.

Let us recall to memory some other facts. Yugoslavia was the first country to recognize Enver Hoxha's government, not for the reason of subjugating Albania, but for recognizing its independence.

In January 1945, through the Security Council, Yugoslavia called that Albania be received in the United Nations. Through Yugoslavia's efforts, Albania was in October 1945, invited to attend the conference of the allies to determine reparations from Germany. A part of its reparations quota Yugoslavia gave over to Albania, in order that the damage done to the country should be repaired.

Yugoslavia not only unmasked Caldaris' proposal on the division of Albania at the Paris conference, but later most decisively rejected Stalin's council to "swallow up Albania." The role of the Yugoslav delegation to the Paris conference was assessed by Enver Hoxha himself, and his statement was carried by BASHKIMI in its issue of October 8, 1946. "Tito's Yugoslavia, which was aided us so much in the liberation struggle, which so lavishly assists in every respect the reconstruction of our country, is in the forefront of the firm defense of our rights at the international level." Somewhat earlier, on April 2, 1946, BASHKIMI wrote: "Our people is above all grateful to new Yugoslavia and its leader; the great Marshal Tito, for the defence of our most lawful rights, the defence made with an open and bright brow by the Yugoslav delegation before the United Nations organisation."

BASHKIMI now falsifies itself and a part of Albania's history.

MOSCOW REACTION TO POLISH EVENTS DISCUSSED

LD041558 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 4 Aug 81

[TANJUG correspondent Savo Bosanac telephoned dispatch from Moscow]

[Text] The situation in Poland is again giving cause for concern in Moscow. The Soviet experts on circumstances in Poland have not been concealing their concern either in the last 2 weeks following the PZPR Extraordinary Congress, but this concern has not been expressed in the Soviet press. Now, however, the conviction is gaining ground in Moscow that the situation in Poland is seriously worsening. Today's Moscow press presents the situation in Poland as being exacerbated again, and it says that the tension is increasing; tension in which the danger from a broader conflict is inherent. In carrying this assessment, reference is made here to the statement on the Politburo session in Warsaw which discussed the implementation of the congress program of stabilization. In this assessment the situation in Poland appears very grave; though yesterday's protest actions in Warsaw and in central Poland are not even described. It is stressed here that the market in Poland is poorly supplied, that the purchase of agricultural produce is not sufficient and that on account of this the tension in the country is increasing. Rumors are spreading in the country that Poland is threatened by hunger, it was stated in the report by the Soviet agency TASS.

On this occasion, the well-known Soviet suspicions about the Solidarity trade union have again become manifest. Some sections of Solidarity, it has been reported here from Warsaw, are trying in the present atmosphere to cast doubt on the political course of the Polish party's extraodrinary congress. It is also stressed in Moscow that the Polish leadership is taking resolute measures of stabilization. These efforts are presented in Moscow in a positive light, but there is greater warning about the dangers and about phenomena which, as stated in the press here, demoralize Polish society.

The interest, in a possible meeting between Leonid Brezhnev and Stanilsaw Kania is thus all the greater. It has been assumed here that Kania might come to the Crimea where Brezhnev is spending his holidays, but the question which is now raised is whether this visit is feasible in the present situation.

POZDERAC DELIVERS SPEECH AT SPANISH CP CONGRESS

AU041614 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1207 GMT 29 Jul 81

[Text] Madrid, 29 Jul (TANJUG)--The LCY delegation headed by Hamdija Pozderac, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, today conveyed the Yugoslav communists' greetings to the participants of the 10th Congress of the Spanish Communist Party [PCE], which is being held in Madrid.

"The LCY has great sympathy and respect for the many years of the revolutionary struggle and successes of the PCE which, together with other progressive forces of Spain, strives for a democratic socialist transformation of Spanish society working under the complex conditions of modern developed capitalism," the greeting said.

"Based on mutual consideration and respect for the principles of independence, equality and noninterference in internal affairs, the relations of comradeship and friendship between our two parties only contribute to the further advancement of cooperation and understanding between our two countries and our peoples," Pozderac added and continued:

The international relations are characterized by the strengthening of forces which struggle for national independence and social emancipation and for the democratization of political and economic relations among states and nations. However, the resistance which reactionary and conservative forces offer to progressive tendencies in the life of the international community remains very strong. Instead of peacefully solving disputes, the policy of force is applied. The contest between the blocs and the struggle for the spheres of interest are spreading to new regions, and this has caused a dangerous undermining of detente, which is stagnating. New hotbeds of crises are appearing, the disarmament talks are at a standstill, while increasing sums are at the same time being allocated for new arms. Not only are the very grave problems of the developing countries not being solved but the gap between them and the developed countries is also widening more and more.

The struggle for the democratization of international economic and political relations is therefore, in our opinion, a duty of all the countries and all the progressive and democratic parties and movements in the world. The LCY believes that the involvement of all the political forces--the communists, socialists, social democrats, Christians and all other peaceful forces--is necessary to overcome the crisis of detente and to expand it to all regions of the world and all fields of international relations, as it is necessary for disarmament and development. In this context, a struggle for the affirmation of the inalienable right of the peoples themselves to decide on their fate is of primary importance.

A just and lasting solution of the hotbeds of crises can only be ensured if the interests of all peoples, interested countries and liberation movements and the interests of the entire international community are taken into account.

The Nonaligned Movement is playing an exceptional role of increasing importance as an independent and progressive factor in the struggle for eliminating the sources of international instability, for ensuring lasting peace and for more just international economic and political relations. For two decades, the Nonaligned Movement has been the champion of the struggle to overcome the bloc divisions of the world and against imperialism, neocolonialism, hegemonism and all forms of domination.

Independent searches for new forms and roads in the struggle for socialism are also being more and more strongly manifested in the workers movement of the world. The need to develop equal relations among the several parties on the principles of responsibility for one's own workers class and people, of independence, equality, noninterference in the internal affairs of other parties and states, as well as mutual respect, is being confirmed at the same time. A consistent respect for these principles and consideration for the differences can only contribute to the advancement of cooperation and solidarity in the interest of peace and socialism.

The significant activities of the PCE within the workers and progressive movement and in international relations in general, as well as the principles and positions which guide it in its relations with other parties, are well known and esteemed in our country.

Yugoslavia is a federal socialist multinational community of equal peoples and nationalities. The unity of our community is being built on the basis of a constant strengthening of the self-managing nature of the socialist republics and provinces, which build their mutual relations in the federation on the basis of the principles of independence and solidarity and constant accords and harmonization of views, interests and positions. Such a Yugoslavia was born in the struggle against fascist enslavers, which is to say in a people's socialist revolution, in which the power of the working people was established with the workers class as the leading force. In the past 35 years, we have achieved great progress, developing independently and autonomously our own system of socialist self-management. Under the leadership of the LCY and Comrade Tito, we developed from a backward country into a medium-developed industrial country, which is constantly making further economic, cultural, social and general progress. For our workers class and all the working people, our socialist self-management means the emancipation of man and his labor, the creation of real democracy and the realization of the actual managing of the fruits of their labor by direct producers.

On this road, we have been meeting difficulties and obstacles which are a reflection of the historical heritage, the level of our development and the complex international economic and political situation. The problems which we recently faced in a part of our country assumed a nationalist and counterrevolutionary nature. The LCY and all our peoples and nationalities facing the gross assault on the unity of the country and the achievements of the socialist revolution have shown an unswaying determination to resist any attack by the internal and external enemies.

Just over a year has passed since the death of Comrade Tito, president of the SFRY and the LCY. Therefore, I wish to repeat on this occasion what the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia pointed out as they took leave of their president: "Tito's work--both in the building of socialist self-management and the policy of national equality in the internal field, and in the struggle for new democratic international relations--will remain a constant resolve of the nonaligned and self-managing socialist Yugoslavia and the LCY.

The LCY is now busy preparing for its 12th congress to be held next spring, with which we will open up new prospects for realizing the far-reaching aims of developing the socialist self-managing democratic society, Hamdija Pozderac, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said concluding his greeting speech.

BRIEFS

ROMANIAN PARTY DELEGATION--A delegation of the RCP Timis county committee arrived in Zrenjanin on 28 July on a 3-day visit. It is led by Petre Danica, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and first secretary of the Timisoara district committee. [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jul 81 p 4 AU]

SED DELEGATION--Angel Cemerski, president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Macedonia, received an SED delegation from Dresden at Stari Dojran on 28 July and discussed party work experiences. [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jul 81 p 7 AU]